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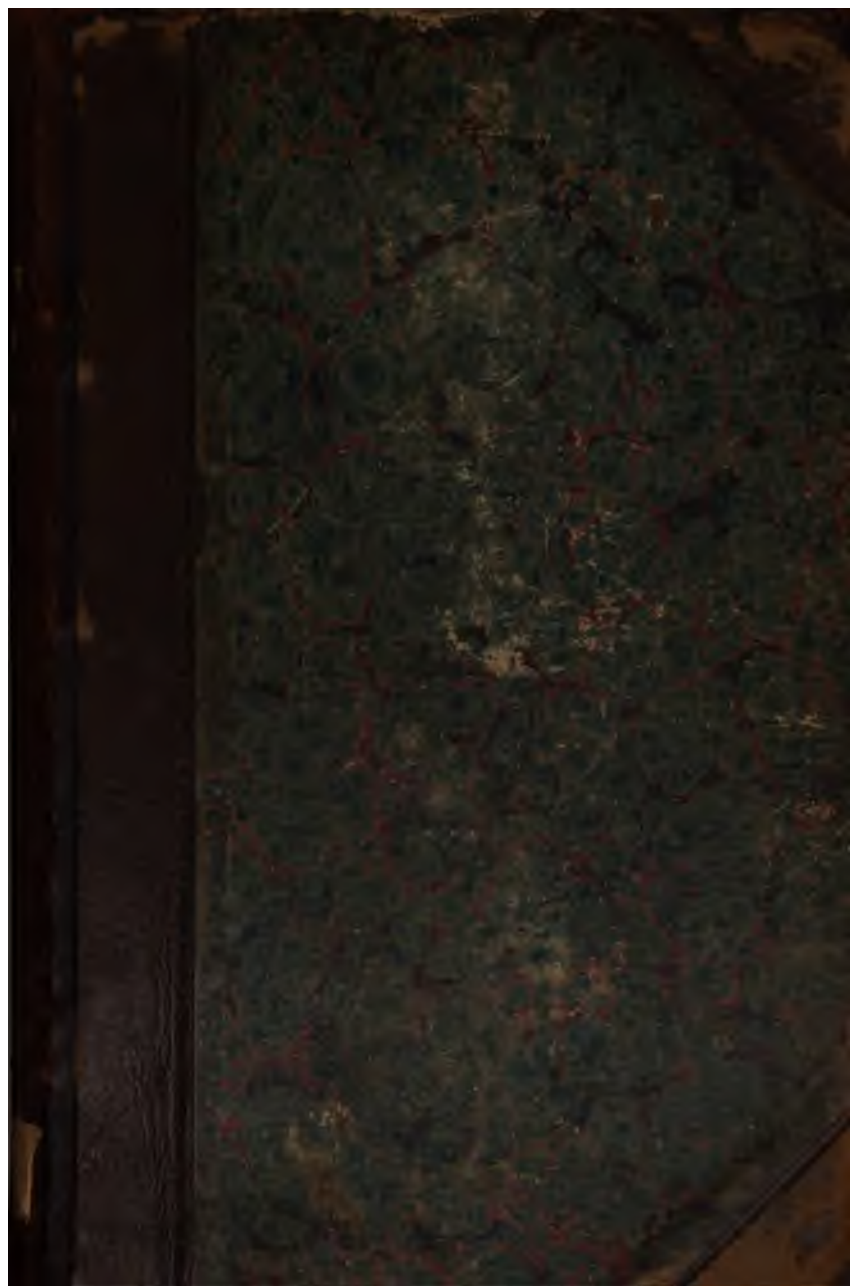
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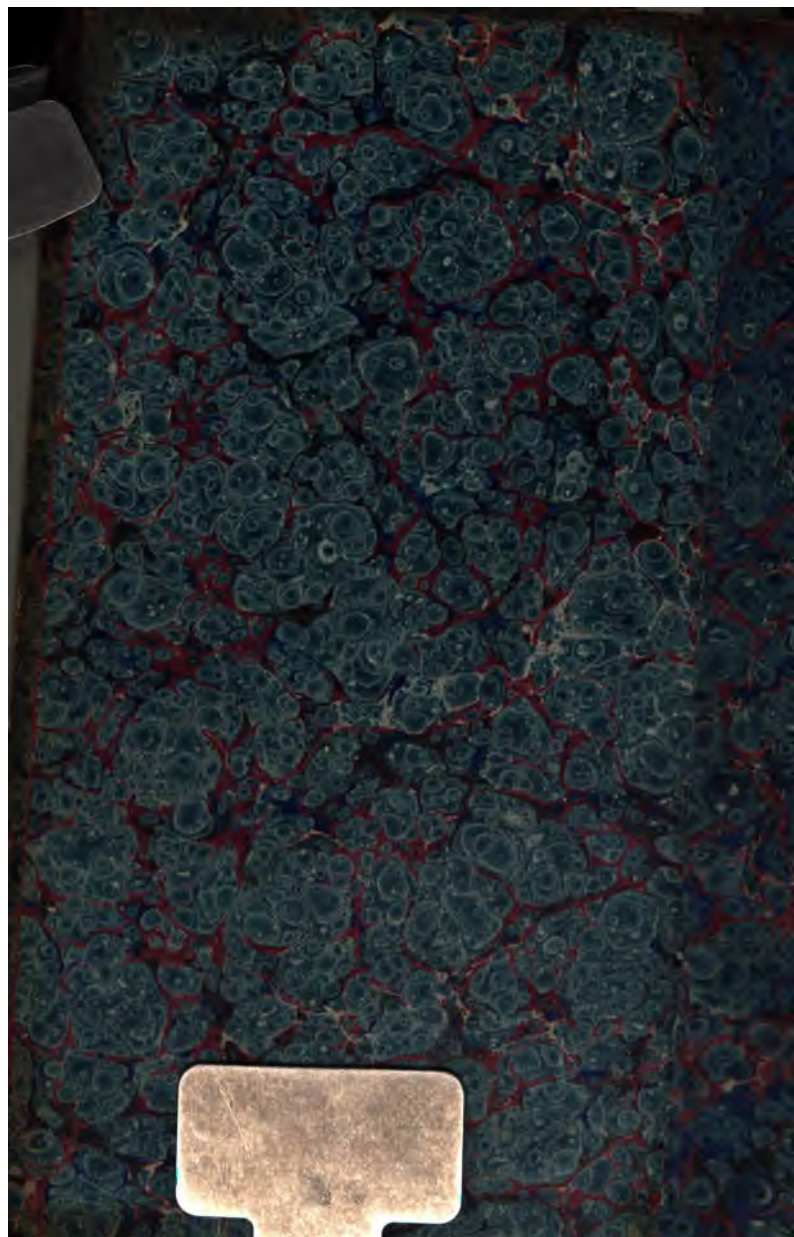
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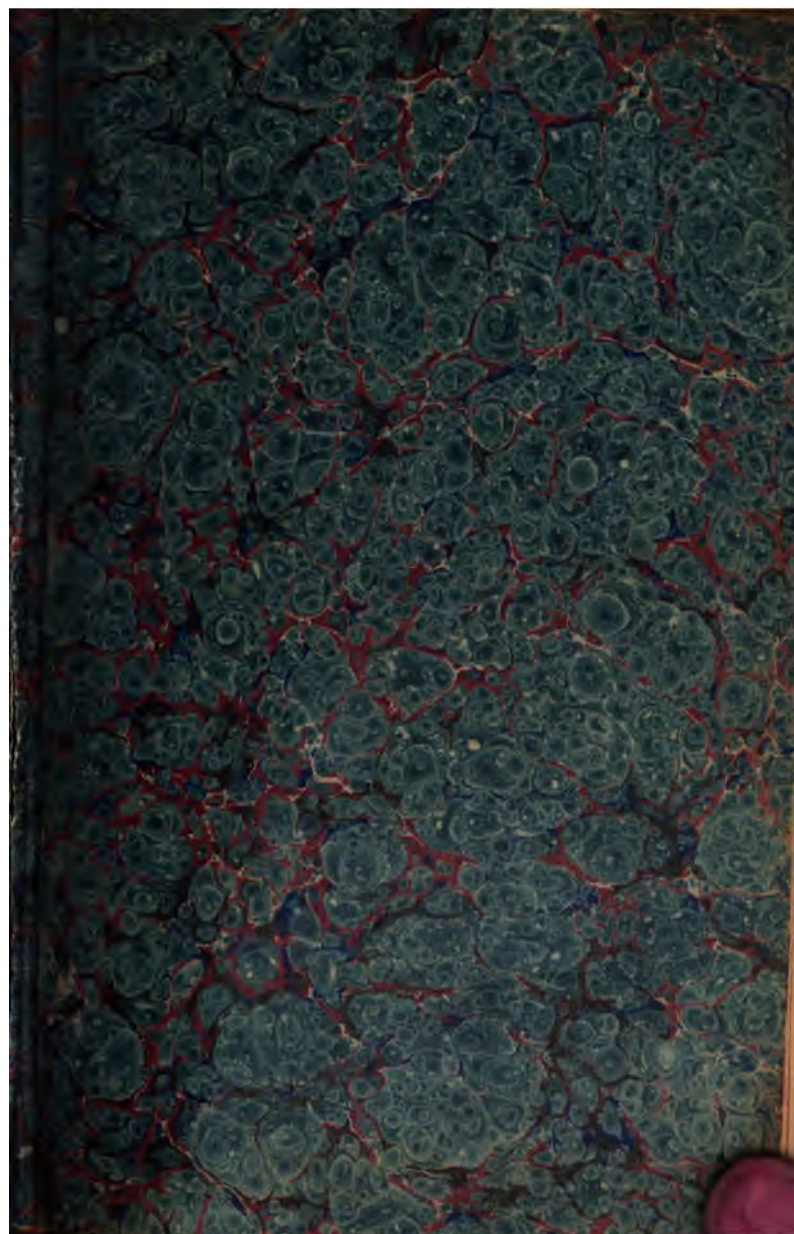
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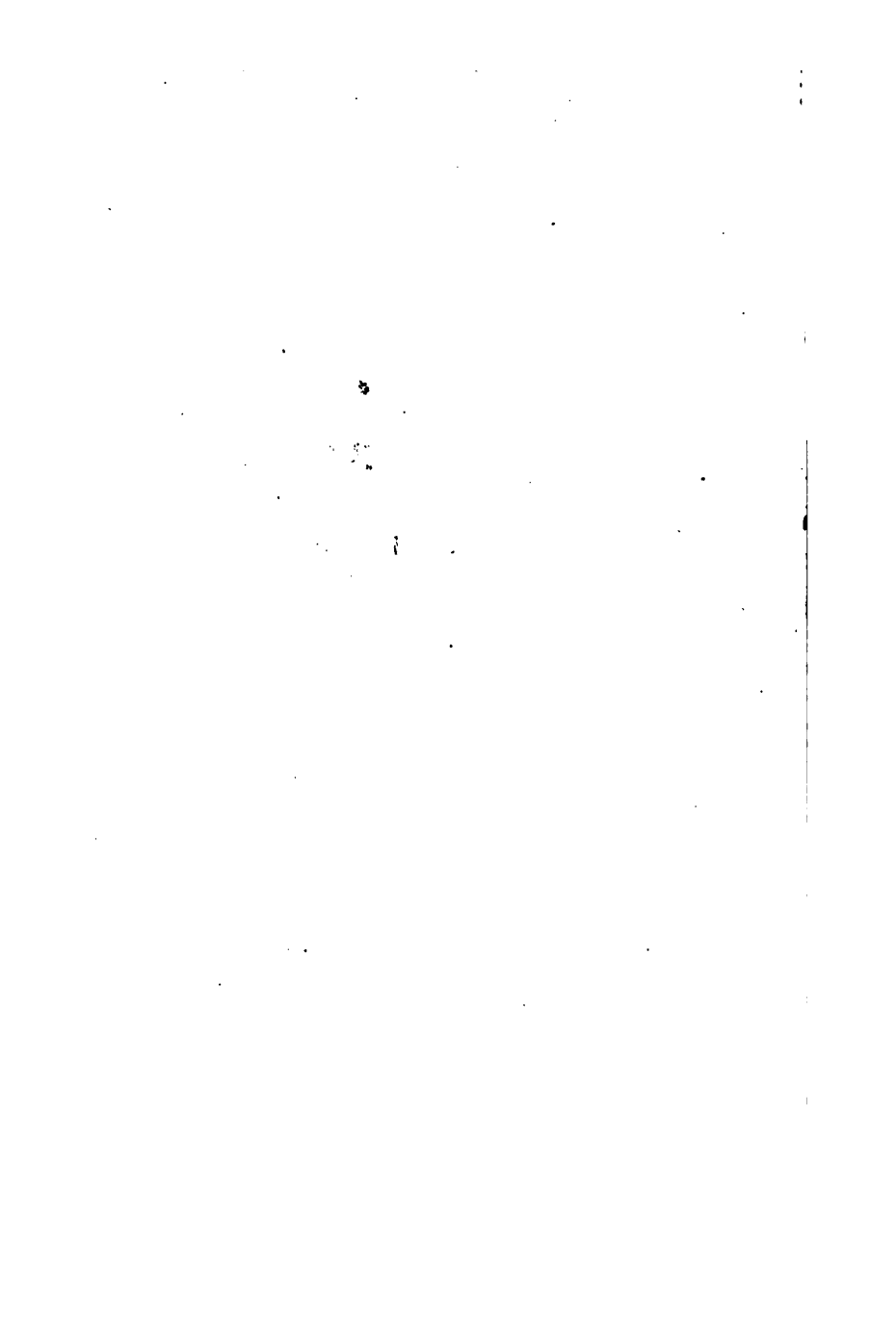
Edmund Blunden
1929

surely a unique copy?
Mr Walcott's own, prepared for a new
edition; opposite is a letter from
Sp. Hamilton thanking him for
the dedication.

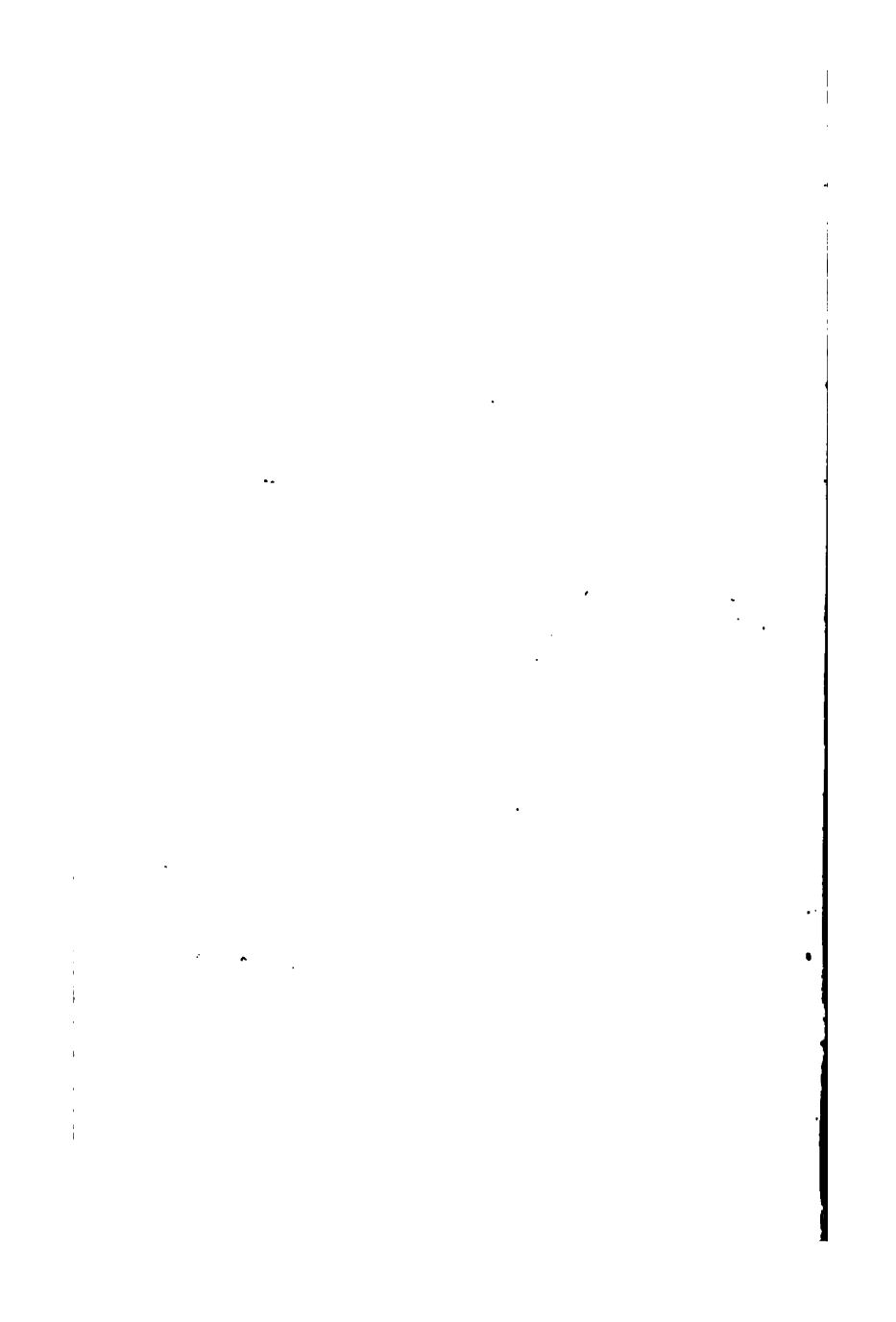
11/21 f.

Unfaithful Brother

Come I like bread
it stays & turns
in a Railway journey.



LIFE OF BISHOP HACKET.



AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
JOHN HACKET,
LATE
Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

PUBLISHED BY THOMAS PLUME, D.D.

AND EDITED, WITH LARGE ADDITIONS AND COPIOUS NOTES,

BY

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SOC. FRANÇ. D'ARCHEOL., AND SOC. DES ANTIQ. DE
NORMANDIE, ETC.

*Arch.
Membr. Royal Inst. of
Brit. & Ind.;*

LONDON :

*Printed by Andrew Clark for Robert Scott,
in Little Britain, MDCLXXV.*

REPRINTED BY J. MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,
AND NEW BOND STREET.

1865.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY J. MASTERS AND SON,
ALDERSGATE STREET.



TO THE
RIGHT REV. WALTER KERR, HAMILTON, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY, AND PROVINCIAL PRÆCENTOR OF CANTERBURY,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

WITH HIS PERMISSION

ARE INSCRIBED.

Barnard and Vernon's Heylyn, Warton's
Bathurst, Burnet's Bedell, Birch's Tillotson,
Fiddes' Woolsey, Brett's Johnson, Dryly's
Sauroff,
Styffe

the biographies of Prideaux, Chillingworth,
and Gilpin.

- 12/ He was of Stone Castle Kent. and bequeathed money
and estates to found the Plumian Professorship of
Astronomy [MS. Harl. 2263. 35] and to augment
four livings in the diocese of Rochester. [Hasted
34. 254. 273. IV. 48. 64. 93.] He



P R E F A C E.



THE Church of England is unhappily deficient in ecclesiastical biographies. The four lives written by Izaak Walton, and the excellent collection made by Dr. Wordsworth, are classics in the language, and when we have added Fell's Hammond, Nelson's Bull, Heylin's Laud, Dr. Pope's Seth Ward, Hacket's Archbishop Williams, Lowth's Wykeham, and Mr. Anderdon's Bishop Ken, the list is well nigh exhausted, with the exception of brief notices in funeral sermons. The Memoir of Bishop Hacket by Dr. Plume¹ is therefore of great

¹ Dr. Thomas Plume, of Christ's College, Cambridge, Vicar of East Greenwich, and Archdeacon of Rochester, June 10, 1679; died, aged seventy-four, Nov. 20, 1704, and was buried in Longfield churchyard. (Lippscombe's Bucks, i. 34, 254, 273; ii. 48.) He became acquainted with Hacket at Cheam, and to him the Bishop bequeathed £10, "besides two volumes of sermons, the one bound in red velvet, and the other in green velvet;" from which Plume published the

value; the subject of his simple narrative was a distinguished prelate educated at Westminster, and Trinity College, Cambridge, the Rector of a considerable London parish, and the restorer of Lichfield Cathedral; a man of a large heart, catholic devotion, and a steadfast son of the English Church. Unfortunately this biography has become scarce and expensive, and being bound up with a Century of his Sermons, in a huge folio of 1013 pages, appears in a cumbersome and unattractive form. I trust therefore now that it is offered in a portable volume at a moderate price, it may prove acceptable to a very wide class of readers.

I have been enabled after careful research in the Bodleian and British Museum, in the Herald's College, the Will Office, the registers of S. Andrew's, Holborn, and the muniments of Trinity College, Cambridge, and inquiry at Lichfield, to gain many new particulars of interest, relating to his personal

Century of Sermons to which the account of the Life and Death of the Author was prefixed. From it the memoirs in the following books have been drawn, without any attempt to supplement it with further information. Biographia Britannica; British Biography, iv. 419-21; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. 44; Willis' and also Britton's Cathedrals, under Lichfield; Christian Consolations, 1840; Church of England Mag. xiii. 254; and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Fasti, li. 368, iv. 822-6.

"March 16, 1667. I have made promise of the next prebend that shall be void, if I live so long, to Mr. Plume, of Greenwich, who buys all books for me, and hath transacted all business for me at London ever since I was Bishop, and he is of great merit." (Tanner MS. xlv. fo. 108.)

history and works; whilst extracts from his letters at Cheam and Lichfield throw light on his amiable character. The more important additions have been incorporated within brackets in the text, which has for convenience been broken up into sections. The references of Plume were most carelessly made, and have now been for the most part verified or corrected, but some are beyond hope of recovery; notes have been also added to the names of persons incidentally mentioned, and short illustrations given of customs, incidents, and places which Dr. Plume had left obscure. The work has been a labour of love and even relaxation amidst severe studies which required close and exacting toil, and I part from it with sincere regret.

Dr. Plume mentions that Hacket preached on eighty occasions before the three Kings, James I., Charles I. and II. His sermons must have proved most attractive, being full of pungent epigrammatic sentences, delicate and refined wit, quaint but chastened humour, classical and historical anecdotes, allusion to fables, and redolent of long study and care in composition. He gives many curious illustrations of the habits of the period, the "interchange of the fashion of their dress" by the sexes (Sermons, 838); the customary oaths and filthy language of the gallants (852); "the great mystery of cookery, the wanton aromatical ambergris diet" (857); the dinner at noon (858); the multiplication of taverns (880) and the consumption of 300 cups of wine for

*"The geographers, when they do not know what inhabitants
possess a country, filling the empty place with the picture,
of lions and tigers and wild Preface. beasts")*

one spent when he was a child (858); wine formerly
a physic, become an ordinary drink (881); the prefix
of an anatomy before the almanac (840); the pur-
chase of the favour of the judges (840); the unroof-
ing of the chancels to be thatched with straw, or
their actual conversion into stables or kitchens
(8, 886). We can imagine the telling effect in those
out-spoken times of his comparison of the rebel Par-
liament to a long council of serpents, like the skin
of the monster of Bagrada remaining when the body
was mortified and hung up in the senate house; or
his invective against the "rattle-snakes of the new
plantations, their railings and invectives under the
tone of whinings and lamentations" (829). Such
an outburst of plain speaking as the following must
have told upon his audience after the Restoration,
"What say our leeches to the rotting of horses three
years together in stables and pastures? Nothing?
but observant Christians note that it began upon the
jades that were stabled in the goodly cathedral
church of S. Paul" (826). ~~As much as~~ the con-
demnation of "outlandish fashions, where there is
no decent face of a church, no air of devotion, no
solemn liturgy to employ the time in, but continual
preaching and ravening after sermons" (943). The
people in London were negligent in doing re-
verence at the Name of JESUS, and usually came
to church only in the afternoon "strong with sweet
smells, in vain attire, tricked up in paint," (584);
and children were catechized in Lent, (609); the

services in cathedrals were then at least an hour longer than in parish churches, (707); the people on festivals frequented games, and sports, and interludes, the fields being full, and the Lord's House empty, (690), and every luxurious feast had the benediction of a preacher's pains before it (362).

But the real and intrinsic charm of his sermons lies not in their play of fancy, their native eloquence, their racy and occasional rich poetical element, but in the fervour, zeal, and persuasiveness of the preacher, the tender expostulation, the affectionate warning, the cheering, kindly tone that pervades all his addresses. Religion with him was one of gentleness, truth, charity, sobriety, and faith working by love. Some of the choicer passages have been selected to form an Appendix, and to many these will not form the least welcome portion of this little book, which I heartily trust may be one both of pleasure and profit to the reader.

Hacket's churchmanship was of the type of Herbert, Ferne, Duport, and Creyghton, neither inclined to Puritanism nor Romanizing. He could use the language of the Bishops in 1661,—“The Church hath been careful to put nothing into the liturgy but that which is either evidently the Word of God, or what hath been generally received in the Catholic Church. It was the wisdom of our Reformers to draw up such a liturgy as neither Romanist nor Protestant could justly except against.” In his will he solemnly professes his ardent

attachment to the Church of England, and touchingly entreats his children to exhibit loyalty towards her. In his letters he displays scholarship, playful humour, sound sense, and an affectionate temper. As an ecclesiastic, there can be no doubt of his powers, his address, the extent of his acquirements, or the greatness of his labours. He is one of the most illustrious Bishops of the great Caroline age. To his diocese his name is a rich legacy, and his life a noble lesson. Every fact recorded of him redounds to his honour. Learning, simplicity, zeal, and perseverance were the attributes of his character. He was, and is an honour to the Church of England, long may his virtues find imitators within her pale.



AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
JOHN HACKET, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.



HE son of Sirach, a renowned preacher in his generation, has given us counsel to "commend famous men, and our fathers of whom we are begotten," (Ecclus. xlv. 1,) and in the clofe of his excellent book has presented us with a large catalogue of them, together with an encomium of their actions, "whose remembrance," (says he) "is sweet as honey in all mouths and pleafant as mufic at a banquet of wine."

S. Paul has directly imitated the son of Sirach, and enumerated many ancient heroes, not without a due commemoration; and farther given us a precept, "To remember our governors," (Heb. xiii. 7,) or guides in the Christian faith, holy bishops and martyrs after their death, as appears plainly by the following words, "whose faith follow, considering the end of their converfation."

Accordingly in the primitive times the Bishops of

Rome took care that the lives and actions of all holy men and martyrs especially should be recorded; for this purpose public Notaries were appointed by S. Clement, say some, though Platina¹ first ascribes their institution to Anterus;² whose records were far more large than the present Roman Martyrology, or that of Bede and Ufuardus,³ or the Menologue of the Greeks, which for the most part contain only the names and deaths of the martyrs; but those were a narrative of their whole lives and doctrines and speeches at large, their *Ἀνδραγαθήματα*, famous acts and sufferings for the Christian Faith; which were also read sometimes in their religious assemblies for the encouragement of others, and are said to have converted many to the Christian Faith.⁴ But these long since perished through the malice and cruelty of Diocletian, in those fires which consumed their bodies and their books together.

Afterwards, when Christian religion reflowered, the Christian Church resumed these studies again. S. Ambrose⁵ did right to the memory of Theodosius, Paulinus to S. Ambrose, Nazianzen⁶ to Athanasius,⁷

¹ In vita, p. 33, Ed. Rycant, London, 1685.

² Anterus, Bishop of Rome; he succeeded 237. He ordered the acts of Martyrs to be recorded. (Collier.)

³ Ufuardus, a Benedictine of the end of the 9th century, author of a Martyrology. (Hoffman, iv. 712.)

⁴ S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. c. 8, et alibi. Comp. Serm. xii. de Sanctis; de diversis S. 45, 63, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106; Leo M. Serm. de Machab.; Euseb. H. E. iv. 15; v. 4.

⁵ S. Ambrose, born c. 340 at Treves; Archbishop of Milan, 374; died 397, and was buried there. Paulinus was his secretary. The Emperor Theodosius I. died 395.

⁶ Gregory of Nazianzum in Cappadocia, the friend of S. Basil, on whom he preached an able funeral Sermon; Bishop of Sasima, died 389; he has been called the Poet and Theologian of the Eastern Church. Gregory of Nyssa wrote the life of Gregory of Neocæsarea Thaumaturgus.

⁷ S. Athanasius, surnamed Apostolicus, born at Alexandria c. 296; Bishop of Alexandria, 326; died 373; buried at Venice.

S. Jerome¹ to Nepotian, Possidonius to S. Austin,² Amphilochius to S. Basil,³ S. Jerome⁴ and Gennadius wrote of all Ecclesiastical writers and illustrious men in the Christian Church from the beginning of it to their own times. And after all these there wanted not martyrologers and writers of lives, but such as perhaps we had better have wanted than enjoyed their writings, inasmuch that a great lieutenant under the Papal Standard⁵ durst affirm that the stories of the heathen captains and philosophers were more excellently written than of CHRIST's own Apostles and Martyrs: for those were done so notably that they were like to live for ever, whereas the lives of many saints in the Christian Church were so corruptly and shamefully penned that they could no way advantage the reader; so that at this day we have two things to bewail, not only that we have lost the true reports of the Primitive Christians, but likewise that the lives of the saints we have remaining have not been written by saints and true men, but by liars who have stuffed their fastidious writings with so many prodigious tales as are more apt

¹ S. Jerome, born c. 340, a native of Pannonia, secretary to P. Damasus, died 420, at Bethlehem. Nepotian, an Italian priest, his friend, to whom he wrote a letter on the duties of clergy. (Moreri, vi. 47.)

² S. Augustine, born at Tagaste, 354; Coadjutor, 395; Bishop, 396, of Hippo; died 430, is buried at Pavia. Possidonius was Bishop of Calama; he became coadjutor to his master till his death. (Moreri, vii. 327.)

³ S. Basil, born at Cæsarea, 326; Bishop of that see, 370; died 379. Amphilochius, Archbishop of Iconium, 374; one of the great defenders of the Catholic Faith, the friend of S. Basil and Nazianzen; died c. 400. (Moreri, i. 381.)

⁴ S. Jerome, [see Walchius, iii. 383, 635, 724,] and for Gennadius, Bishop of Marfeilles in the 5th century, *ibid.* 383, and Moreri, iv. 73.

⁵ M. Canus, *Loc. Theol. lib. xi. c. 6*, ed. 1605. A Dominican and "the learned Bishop of the Canaries," as Jeremy Taylor calls him, born at Tarragona, died at Toledo, 1560. (Moreri, ii. 84.)

to beget infidelity than faith, and all honest and judicious men are ashamed and grieved to read them.

For my own part I intend not in this tumultuary haste to write an absolute life of our bishop, or recollect all his actions praiseworthy, but only for satisfaction of some importunate friends, to represent quædam *ἀξιωμακρόνευτα*, some few memoirs and passages of his life, which I have received from his Lordship's most intimate acquaintance, and for the most part from his own reports; *Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles*!¹ and in them am resolved to sacrifice to truth and not to affection, to the glory of God and not to human fame;² to write nothing false or fictitious, nor things true in a hyperbolical and flaunting manner, as in a panegyric, but only a breviary of his most active and industrious life, where the truth shall be recited without false ideas and representations, and his Lordship made to appear what really he was, both in his Divine virtues and human passions.

And though I am likely to do all this with very small acumen and judgment, yet I hope with true zeal and sincere affection to the glory of God, and honour of the Church of England; the members of which Church have been reputed of all others the slackest to celebrate their own worthies, partly, I conceive, from the humility and modesty of their principles and education, partly from the great multitude of incomparable scholars therein to be commemorated, that such labours would be almost infinite. For which reason the Diptychs³ of the

¹ Virg. Ecl. "Sæpe ego longos Cantando puerum memini me condere soles." Ecl. ix. 51, 2.

² S. Bern. in vita S. Malachie. He says, "Sanè narrationis veritas secuta apud me est," etc. (Migne, Patrol. clxxxi. Præf. p. 1114.)

³ Church registers, so called from being folded together, mentioned

Ancient Church were likewise laid aside when religion was settled and Christians grew numerous. But yet if the divines of the Church of England lived elsewhere we may well conjecture what books the world should have had of their learning and piety; for who sees not the many volumes of lives daily published by others, wherein ample commendations are given to idleness, popularity, and very ordinary deservings. After an impartial reading thereof I cannot but think that our own Church has far better subjects and matter to write upon if we that survive wanted not ability or affection to maintain our own cause, and publish the merits of our departed worthies to the world.

Therefore out of emulation partly, and "shame from a foolish nation," (Rom. x. 19,) as S. Paul says, but much more out of a profound sense of the duty I owe to the memory of this renowned prelate, and most of all out of hope of stimulating posterity to the imitation of the virtues of better times, I have taken care to give the world this account of our author, and not to permit his books to be buried as it were, in the grave with his body, mortal and immortal to descend together into the same land of oblivion.

[2.] Though it be no real prerogative, but an accidental and contingent thing, how we are born after the flesh, yet it is commendable to search into the beginning and causes of such things as we would thoroughly know, and therefore the extract and parentage of learned and great men is usually inquired after in the first place.

John Hacket was born in the parish of S. Martin's in the Strand, near Exeter House, upon Sep-

from the 4th century downwards, containing names of the living and dead who had died in full communion with the Church. See Dodwell

Dissect. Cypr. V. p. 71. Thomdike IV. 461

tember 1, 1592, in the happy reign of Queen Elizabeth, of honest and virtuous parents, and of good reputation in that place, his father¹ being then a senior burgess of Westminster, and afterwards belonging to the robes of Prince Henry, descended from an ancient family in Scotland, which retains the name to this day. His father and mother were both true Protestants, great lovers of the Church of England, constant repairers to the Divine prayers and Service thereof, and would often bewail to their young son after the coming in of their countrymen with King James the seed of fanaticism then laid in the scandalous neglect of the public liturgy, which all the Queen's time was exceedingly frequented, the people then resorting as devoutly to Prayers as they would afterwards to hear any famous preacher about the town; and his aged Parents often observed to him that religion towards God, justice and love amongst neighbours, gradually declined with the disuse of our public prayer.

In our Bishop's opinion parentage alone added little to any man, no more than if we should commend the stock of a tree when we cannot commend the fruit, *Mirari in trunco quod in fructu non teneas*,² who held that the glory of our forefathers reflected upon us, was but color intentionalis, like the sparkling colour of wine upon fair linen, or as the sea-green and purple in the rainbow, which are not real colours, but mere shadows and reflections; and that never was pedigree so well set out as that of

¹ Andrew Hacket, of Putferin, N.B. [Ath. Oxon. iv. 826.] Hacket bore arg. paly of three sa. on a chief gu. a lion pass. gard. or. crest a falcon.

The Rev. W. G. Humphrey, Vicar of S. Martin's, informs me that the only entry stands thus, "Baptismus 1592, Septēbris 3, baptizatus fuit Joannes Hackett."

² S. Hier.

6. His father was a tailor, and died 1621; he left to his two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, £100 each, and to his only son, John, subject of this memoir, his dwelling house and chattels. (5. Dale.)

Noah, "These are the generations of Noah, Noah was a just man," &c., (Gen. vi. 9.) And in like manner our Blessed SAVIOUR commends His forerunner John Baptist not so much for his honourable descent and miraculous conception, as for his pious and laborious ministry in turning many to righteousness, (S. Luke i. 16, 17; S. Matt. xi. 11, 12.) This was agreeable to our Bishop's mind in comparison whereof he little valued all other titles of honour.

But in his discourse he would often give God thanks for the place he was born in, viz., that he was born an Englishman, and especially in the city of London. He was indeed a great lover of his own nation, little England as he would term it, the sweetest spot of all the earth, and say that the City of London was *Ἑλλάς Ἑλλάδος*, the very England of England, *urbs urbium*, and with the country were a little more sprinkled with her flour; for in his travels he had discerned in places remote a northern rigour and churlishness among our villages, wanting that southern sleekness that was usually found in cities and great towns, the metropolis especially. And though there is no place but has in some age been enlightened with some famous luminary; the prophet Jonas was born in Galilee,¹ "out of which," said the Pharisees, "there arises no prophet," (S. John vii. 52;) yet withal it was observed in Scythia there was never born but one philosopher,² but in Athens all were such: so in all parts of England there have been learned men born, but in London innumerable; and therefore once in a pleasant discourse between him and a learned friend, who were reckoning up the country where

¹ Usher's Ann. p. 54.

² Anacharfis.

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² Anacharfis.

tember 1, 1592, in the happy reign of Queen Elizabeth, of honest and virtuous parents, and of good reputation in that place, his father¹ being then a senior burgess of Westminster, and afterwards belonging to the robes of Prince Henry, descended from an ancient family in Scotland, which retains the name to this day. His father and mother were both true Protestants, great lovers of the Church of England, constant repairers to the Divine prayers and Service thereof, and would often bewail to their young son after the coming in of their countrymen with King James the seed of fanaticism then laid in the scandalous neglect of the public liturgy, which all the Queen's time was exceedingly frequented, the people then resorting as devoutly to Prayers as they would afterwards to hear any famous preacher about the town; and his aged Parents often observed to him that religion towards God, justice and love amongst neighbours, gradually declined with the disuse of our public prayer.

In our Bishop's opinion parentage alone added little to any man, no more than if we should commend the stock of a tree when we cannot commend the fruit, *Mirari in trunco quod in fructu non teneas*,² who held that the glory of our forefathers reflected upon us, was but color intentionalis, like the sparkling colour of wine upon fair linen, or as the sea-green and purple in the rainbow, which are not real colours, but mere shadows and reflections; and that never was pedigree so well set out as that of

¹ Andrew Hacket, of Putferin, N.B. [Ath. Oxon. iv. 826.] Hacket bore arg. paly of three fa. on a chief gu. a lion pass. gard. or. crest a falcon.

The Rev. W. G. Humphrey, Vicar of S. Martin's, informs me that the only entry stands thus, "Baptismus 1592, Septēbris 3, baptizatus fuit Joannes Hackett."

² S. Hier.

P. 6. His father was a tailor, and died 1621; he left to his two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, £100 each, and to his only son, John, the subject of this memoir, his dwelling house and chattels. (5. Dale.)

Noah, "These are the generations of Noah, Noah was a just man," &c., (Gen. vi. 9.) And in like manner our Blessed SAVIOUR commends His forerunner John Baptist not so much for his honourable descent and miraculous conception, as for his pious and laborious ministry in turning many to righteousness, (S. Luke i. 16, 17; S. Matt. xi. 11, 12.) This was agreeable to our Bishop's mind in comparison whereof he little valued all other titles of honour.

But in his discourse he would often give God thanks for the place he was born in, viz., that he was born an Englishman, and especially in the city of London. He was indeed a great lover of his own nation, little England as he would term it, the sweetest spot of all the earth, and say that the City of London was *Ἑλλάς Ἑλλάδος*, the very England of England, *urbs urbium*, and with the country were a little more sprinkled with her flour; for in his travels he had discerned in places remote a northern rigour and churlishness among our villages, wanting that southern sleekness that was usually found in cities and great towns, the metropolis especially. And though there is no place but has in some age been enlightened with some famous luminary; the prophet Jonas was born in Galilee,¹ "out of which," said the Pharisees, "there arises no prophet," (S. John vii. 52;) yet withal it was observed in Scythia there was never born but one philosopher,² but in Athens all were such: so in all parts of England there have been learned men born, but in London innumerable; and therefore once in a pleasant discourse between him and a learned friend, who were reckoning up the country where

¹ Usher's Ann. p. 54.

² Anacharfis.

many scholars were born, and could not presently tell what countryman Mr. L.¹ was, the Bishop merrily said, "As the Rabbins believed whenever any great prophet was named in Scripture, and the place of his birth not named, that it was in Jerusalem; so he would take it for granted, by the like parity of reason, since Mr. L.'s country was unknown, he must needs be born in London."

Yet in his judgment it was but a small lustre likewise that the place where any man was teemed could cast upon him, but he ought rather to give lustre to it; for places did not conciliate honour to men, but men to places, and that little Hippo was more ennobled by great S. Austin than great S. Austin by little Hippo. And therefore he never rejoiced so much for the city or country wherein he was born as for the Church's sake wherein he was baptized and born again, which of all others to his dying day he most loved and admired, and accordingly he would often render hearty thanks to God that his birth and breeding was in a reformed Church, and of all others the most prudent and exact according to the doctrine of Holy Scripture and the primitive pattern, that would neither continue in the fulsome superstitions of the Roman Church, nor in reforming be borne down with the violent torrent as some others were.

But from these lesser circumstances of his birth let us therefore proceed to those of his education and breeding, which are far greater, and do especially make the difference between one man and another, for whereas all by nature are born alike of the same corrupt materials, education only, like the hand or wheel of the potter, makes us to differ, and become vessels of honour or dishonour. Our birth from

Qy. Mr. Linley p.
13. 70

¹ Qy. Hamon L'Estrange? He is mentioned in Hacket in the life of William P. I. p. 68. He was author of the *Manners of a Gentleman* 1659 and a *History of the Design of* Charles II.

St John Damascene, born at Damascus c. 676. He defended the worship of Images. 727. he died. 760. Moreri V. 54. Baillet Vie des Saints Education at Westminster. May 6. St. John Jerusalem wrote his life. [See Baile II 950] ~~and~~ and the womb is not as the dew of the morning, fair *Order*]

and pleasant, but tainted like the unwholesome vapours of the night with the stench of iniquity, whereby all youth has a great inclination to vice and sinful pleasure, and consequently that age is generally the most riotous and carnal part of our life; but in him it happened quite otherwise, for by the providence of his pious parents and vigilance of a strict schoolmaster he was well principled and strictly disciplined betimes.

[3.] His wife parents were extremely careful of him, for he was τηλύγετος καὶ μόνος, the only son and staff of both their ages, in whom all their hopes were reposed. Omnis in Ascanio chari stat cura parentis;¹ and having received him in their old age from God, they were resolved in his early youth to devote him to God again, and therefore never suffered him to lose any time, but being very small and young, entered him into the King's School at Westminster, where from his tender years he acquired a habit of rising betimes, and constant study; all the day long he was attended with the eye of a diligent master, and at night sufficiently tasked when he went home, and never permitted to know what idleness or vanity was by his own leisure or experience.

His master, observing his great propensity to learning, would often foretell that there would be nothing insuperable to his good parts and great diligence withal, and that with those two wings (Εὐφυΐα φύσεως καὶ σπουδὴ προαιρέσεως, as John, Patriarch of Constantinople said of Damascen²) the young Eaglet would in time soar very high.

Of this school he would speak with the greatest respect possible, that it was Musarum domicilium,

¹ Virg. Æn. I. [646.]

² In vita. ---

virtutis officina, nobile doctrinæ et pietatis ἀσκη-
τήριον, the most famous nursery of learning and
learned men who did excel in all vocations, more
fruitful than Ibzan that had thirty sons and thirty
daughters, (Judges xii. 9,) or than Solomon's happy
parent, who lived to beget a hundred children,
(Eccles. vi. 3;) being of opinion that more learned
scholars had been bred at Westminster School since
the foundation thereof, than in any other seminary
of learning in England or elsewhere; that one
school furnishing two entire colleges of great size
in Cambridge and Oxon, besides whom it does
send to other places by way of superfetation.¹

A perpetual gratitude he bore to Mr. Ireland,²
his schoolmaster, and would bewail that generally
throughout England no better stipends were allowed
to that profession, than which none was more
necessary in a commonwealth, and yet in most
places it was so slightly provided for that it was
undertaken out of necessity, and only as a step to
other preferment.

In this school he first became known to the in-
comparable Bishop Andrewes,³ who, being then

¹ Among Hacket's contemporaries at Westminster were B. Duppa, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; and H. King, of Chichester; John King, public orator; Meetkerke, Hebrew Professor at Oxford; N. Grey, Master of Eton; Beale, Master of S. John's, Cambridge; Creighton, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells; and H. Thorndike: and at Trinity College, Palmer, the Greek scholar; Chauncy, Head of Harward College; Duport; Bishop Ferne; Randolph, the poet; Archbishop Sterne; Abraham Whelock; Sir T. Herbert; Pell, the mathematician, and several others of note.

² Richard Ireland, Head Master, 1599-1610; Student of Christ Church, 1587. His statutable stipend was £12; for tuition, and for commons, £5. 1s. 8d. (Alum. Westm. 60.) see Laud, iv. 317.

³ Lancelot Andrewes, S.T.P., M.A. Oxford, 1581; born in Thames Street, London; educated at Merchant Taylors' School; Scholar of Pembroke Hall, 1571; Fellow of Jesus College, 1579; Master of Pembroke Hall, 1589; Chaplain to Sir F. Walsingham, Queen

Dean of Westminster, in the necessary absence of the Master, would sometimes come into the school and teach the boys. There that learned and pious Bishop first took notice of this young scholar for his great diligence, modesty, pregnancy of parts, strong inclination to learning and virtue, which he afterwards constantly cherished both at School and University to his death. On the other side, our young scholar ever revered this great person *in loco parentum*, often retired to him for advice in his studies, and ever honoured him as S. Cyprian did Tertullian, *tantum magistrum*.

To tell how well he passed the circuit of that school, I need say no more but what his Master Ireland said, at parting, to him and George Herbert,¹ who went from thence to Trinity College, in Cambridge, by election together, That he expected to have credit by them two at the University, or would never hope for it afterwards by any while he lived : and added withal, that he need give them no counsel to follow their books, but rather to study moderately, and use exercise ; their parts being so good, that if they were careful not to impair their health by too much study, they would not fail to arrive to the top of learning in any art or science.

Elizabeth, and Archbishop Whitgift ; Rector of Cheam, 1609 ; S. Giles, Cripplegate ; Canon of Westminster, 1598 ; Southwell, 1589 ; S. Paul's, 1589 ; Dean of Westminster, 1601 ; Chapel Royal, 1689 ; P. C. Lord Almoner, 1605 ; Consecrated to Chichester, 1605 ; Translated to Ely, 1609 ; to Winchester, 1619 ; died at Winchester House, Southwark, 1626 ; buried in S. Mary's, Overy. His works have been published in the Anglo-Catholic Library.

¹ George Herbert, born 1593, at Montgomery Castle ; A.M., 1625 ; Public Orator, Cambridge, 1619 ; Prebendary of Linc., 1619 ; Rector of Bemerton, 1630 ; died 1633, and is buried there. He is author of "The Temple," "Sacred Poems," &c. (Alum. Westm. 78.) "The Sweet and Saintly Singer of the Temple."

Granger II. 170.

[4.] The courtesy of his election¹ he ever would acknowledge to Dr. Nevil,² the most magnificent Master of Trinity College, and Dean of Canterbury, to whom when his father (though unacquainted) presumed to address on behalf of his son, he presently bid him spare further speaking to any one, for *that* boy should go to Cambridge, or he would carry him upon his own back. So he was removed to Trinity College in 1608, the day before Dr. Playfer's funeral,³ where he first saw and heard the most eloquent Mr. Williams, then Fellow of S. John's, afterwards Lord Keeper, who made the funeral oration for him in S. Mary's, the second day he wore a purple gown.⁴

Oftentimes would our good Bishop, like Plato, give great thanks to GOD that he was not bred among rude and barbarous people, but among civil and learned Athenians; that he was not disposed of to some monkish society, or ignorant cloister, but

¹ He was elected to Trinity College with Walsingham Shirley, afterwards Rector of Stepney, and George Herbert. (Alum. Westm. p. 76.)

² Thomas Neville, born at Canterbury; Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1570; Master of Magdalen College, 1582; of Trinity College, 1593; Vice-Chancellor, 1588; Rector of Doddington, Teversham, Charton, and Barnack, 1587-90; Prebendary of Ely, and Queen's Chaplain, 1587; Dean of Peterborough, 1590; and Canterbury, 1597. The eighth Master of Trinity College, he expended £3,000 of his own in altering and enlarging the old, and adding a new court thereunto. (Fuller's Hist. of Cam., p. 236.) ^x He died May 2, 1615, and is buried at Canterbury.

³ Thomas Harrison, one of the Translators of the Bible, was Vice-Master, 1612-28, and was honoured with a public funeral at his death. (Deilchampe's Harrisonus Honoratus.) Hacket speaks of him as pientissimus Vice-Magister. (Sloane MS. 1701, fo. 194.)

⁴ Thomas Playfere, S.T.P., Fellow of S. John's College, and Margaret Professor; he died 1608, and was buried in S. Botolph's, Cambridge. (Fuller's Hist. of Cam. 299, 300.)

⁵ The purple gown is worn by undergraduates of Trinity College. The Rev. H. R. Luard, the Registrar, informs me that he matriculated as pensioner, April 10, 1609.

^x He was buried Feb. 2. aged 46. Life of Williams P.I. p. 16.

^x
"who never
had his like
in his age for
a splendid
courtier
and beautiful
gentleman."
[Life of Williams
P.I. p. 24]

to the Greece of Greece itself, the most learned and Royal Society of Trinity College,¹ which in that and all other ages since the foundation equalled any other college in Europe for plenty of incomparable Divines, Philosophers, and Orators. He would often make mention of his learned tutor, Dr. Simson,² that wrote the Church History; Dr. Cumber,³ a great critic; Dr. Richardson,⁴ Regius Professor; Dr. Nevil, a very splendid and sumptuous governor; the great Hebrician and Chronologer, Mr. Lively,⁵

¹ Among the members of Trinity College at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century were statesmen, such as Lord Bacon and Sir R. Naunton; courtiers and gentlemen, such as Sir T. Herbert, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Essex, Sir R. Filmer, and Peacham, the author of "The Complete Gentleman;" antiquarians, as Sir R. Cotton, and Sir H. Spelman; lawyers, as Sir E. Coke; and physicians, as Dr. Philemon Holland. In 1618 there were 2998 students in the University. (Scot's Tables, quoted by Fuller.) Cole thus mentions his appointment, "John Hackett, Soc. Min., 1614; Maj., 1615; Sublect. 3. 15. (al. 609, fo. 260 b.) MS. 5846, fo. 232." An ancestor of my own was appointed Fellow in 1611, John Walcott. (Ibid. 233.)

² Edward Simson, S.T.P., born at Tottenham, educated at Westminster, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1602-28; Rector of Eastling, 1617; Pluckley, 1628; Prebendary of Lincoln, 1628; "who hath wrote a large history, the mythological part whereof is most excellent," (Fuller;) author of the "Chronicon Catholicum." (Granger, II. p. 180. Alum. Westm. 65, 66; Ath. Oxon. iii. 1261.) *Fuller's Hist. of Camb. 302.*

³ Thomas Comber, "the twelfth Master of this house, 1631, of whom the most learned Morinus makes honourable mention," (Fuller, p. 238;) born at Shermanbury, Suffex, 1575; educated at Horsham School; Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 1636; Chaplain to the King, Rector of Worplesdon, 1615; he died 1653, and is buried in Trinity College Chapel, Cambridge. (Alum. Westm. 20. MS. Notes of C. H. and T. Cooper, F.S.A. Kennet MS. Lans. 985, fo. 196.)

⁴ John Richardson, B.D., 1592; S.T.P., Fellow of Emmanuel; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1607-17; Master of Peterhouse, 1608, and Trinity College, May 27, 1615; Vice-Chancellor, 1617; one of the Translators of the Bible; he was born at Linton, and died 1625. (Alum. Westm. 27.)

⁵ Edward Lively, A.M., "one of the best linguists in the world," (Fuller;) Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1572; one of the Translators of the Bible, Hebrew Professor at Cambridge; collated the second stall at Peterborough, June 21, 1602; Rector of Purleigh,

"every good scholar"

Chaplain to
Viscountess
Maidstone

*Life of William P. 1. p. 32. a profound divine
a great linguist.
[p. 26]*

one of the translators of the Bible; the famous and most memorable Dr. Whitgift,¹ sometime Master, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and assert it was almost impossible for any man to continue ignorant under the advantage of so great examples, and influence of such incomparable instructors.

Here our young scholar was quickly taken notice of by the seniors for his many singular parts of wit, memory, skill in philosophy, subtilty in disputation. excellent knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues especially, great sobriety of life, integrity of manners, constant diligence at his book, no day nor hour passing without turning over some historian, orator, or poet, so that his tutor was forced rather to restrain than to incite him to his study, and would advise him every morning to walk so many turns; yet he would confess sometimes he felt the sleepy humour upon himself; but then his constant rule was, whenever he found himself doubtful, whether to study or loiter, in that indisposition to choose the better part.²

The first proofs he gave of his ability in logic,

"that unparalleled
- called unthe
man" [defect
Williams P. 1.
p. 97
10

1604; died April, 1605, and was buried in S. Edward's Church, Cambridge. Hacket in a letter, MS. Sloane, fo. 194, says that Casaubon and Rainolds held him in the highest honour. (See also Life of Williams, i. 9, 10; Act. Cant. ii. 407, 554; B. Willis, Cath. iii. 518.)

¹ John Whitgift, born at Great Grimsby, educated at S. Anthony's School; Fellow of Peterhouse, 1555; Master of Pembroke Hall, 1567; Trinity College, Cambridge, 1567; Vice-Chancellor, 1571 and 1574; Lady Margaret Professor, 1563; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1567; Rector of Teversham, Prol. of Convocation, 1572; Chaplain to the Queen, Canon of Ely, 1568; Lincoln, 1572; Dean of Lincoln, 1571; consecrated to Worcester, 1577; P. C. 1585; translated to Canterbury, 1583; Founder of Croydon Hospital. He crowned James I., 1603; he died at Lambeth, 1604, and is buried there. His last words were "Pro ecclesia Dei."

² The following account of College Life, 1618-20, is derived from the Diary of D'Ewes. (Parker, 1851.) Each Student had a chamber-fellow in his rooms; the usual dinner hour was 11 A.M., but an

philosophy, and oratory, were so much above the common sort, that his preferment was soon presaged in that Society, which he obtained by his own merits, without the intercession of friends to hoist or heave him up. He was chosen Fellow of the College as soon as he became capable by virtue of his first degree, and afterwards grew into that credit, that he had many pupils, and of many of the best families of gentry in England.

One month in the long vacation, retiring with his pupil, afterwards Lord Byron,¹ into Notting-

P. 14. In 1609 he appears as a discipulus or scholar; and as minor socius in 1614, and major socius, being M.A., in 1615. In 1617 he was Sublector 3^e Classis, being the junior Fellow but engaged in the College examinations. (MS. Mem. Book, fo. George Herbert was Sublector 4^e Classis; Thorndike was Primarius. By Stat. IX. these Sublectors, now called Sub-lectors were superintendents of studies, and required to inquire diligently the proficiency and progress of the students, "per progress et magister distributos." In 1609 John Hackett was elected scholar with George Herbert, being head of the Western election. (MS. Mem. Book, fo. 27.) In the Steward's book the following entries occur:—

"1610. Item given to the actors in *Andria* by the Vice-Chancellor, appointment. vi.

"1612. For rushes for the parlor (combination room.) To Carter for keepinge dogs out of chappell. For 2d. 1616. For extra co. to Dom. Hackett, omitted the former year. viij. viijd."

(Access to these documents was most kindly afforded to me by Mr. J. L. Hammond, M.A., Fellow and Senior Bursar of Trinity College.)

between the ... were permitted on Sunday, Fridays, while the Prævaricator like ... the Comitia.

¹ John, first Lord Byron, 1643; A.M., Cambridge, 1618; "a gallant person, a great wit, a scholar, very stout, full of honour and courtesy." (Life of Williams, ii. p. 211.) M.P. for Nottingham, K.B., D.C.L. Oxford, 1642; Lieutenant of the Tower, 1641; the gallant Cavalier General who contributed mainly to the victory of Roundway Down, by his brilliant cavalry charge, 1643. He died in France, 1652. (Collins, vii. p. 100-107.)

hamshire for fresh air, there, in absence from all books, and having no other more serious studies, he made "Loyola,"¹ which needs no other commendation than to remember that it was twice acted before King James, and what an ingenious pen says in a Prologue,

"You must not here expect to-day
Leander, Labyrinth, or Loyola."

After his return to the College from this diversion, he began to set himself wholly to the study of Divinity, being egregiously skilled in the preparatory learning of logic, physic, metaphysics, and ethics, with which he had most largely informed his mind, and adorned his soul; and then as dyers having dipped their filks in colours of less value, do afterwards give them the last tincture of crimson in grain, so our young scholar having given his mind a large dip of secular arts and sciences, became more fit for Divine speculations; therefore, though but a very young man, his first Sermons at S. Mary's, and at the Vicarage of Trumpington, (which he held with his Fellowship,) were so singular and like

¹ King James visited Cambridge, March, 1614, again in May of the same year, in 1623, and 1624. In 1602 "The Return to Parnassus," was acted at S. John's College. (Cooper's Annals, 612, 9.) In 1614, "Ignoramus" was one of four plays represented in Trinity College Hall before the King and 2000 persons. "Loiola," a Latin comedy acted Feb. 28, 1622, was published in London, 1648, 8vo. (Ath. Oxon. iv. 826.) Cowley, the Poet, wrote a play to be acted in the same Hall, and the other poet-fellows of the collegiate stage were Brooke, Tomkis, Hawksworth, T. Vincent, Stubbe, and Randolph. When James I. visited Cambridge in 1614, an enactment was made against the wearing by the students of "strange peccadivelas, vast bands, large cuffs, shoe-roses, tufts, locks and tops of hair;" (Cooper, iii. 68, 69;) and in 1607 against night getters, keepers of greyhounds, drunkenness, and taking of tobacco. (23-8, 24-6.) Corporal punishment of scholars was then not uncommon. In 1619, Hacket wrote some Latin verses on the death of Queen Anne.

The scene is laid at Amsterdam, and the cast of the characters is given in the Trinity College MS.

himself, that (as the learned Bishop Creighton¹ told me) the eyes of the whole Univerfity were caft upon him as a ftar that would be as bright as any in the conftellation befide.

[5.] He received his Holy Orders by the hands of John King,² Bishop of London, in December [22], 1618. This good Bishop had a fingular affection and kindnefs for him, which he expreffed upon all occafions; once by accident his Lordfhip paffed through S. Paul's Cathedral, where old Mr. Hacket was walking, (as the cuftom then was,³) his gentleman who attended him, whifpered to his Lordfhip, that the goodly old man, who was walking there, was young Mr. Hacket's father, of Trinity College, in Cambridge. The Bifhop thereupon beckoned him to come to him, and gave him joy of his hopeful fon at Trinity College, and bid him when he wrote commend him likewise to him, and let him know in due time he would be a means to bring them two together again. So the matchlefs Andrews, that great rewarder of all learning and worth, would oftentimes fend him commendations, and counfel, and money to buy books, fometimes

¹ Robert Creighton, born at Dunkeld, educated at Weftminfter; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1613; Public Orator, 1627; Regius Profeflor of Greek, 1625; Treafurer and Canon of Wells, 1632; Lincoln, 1632; Dean of S. Burian's, Chaplain to Charles II.; confecrated to Bath, 1670; died, 1672, and is buried at Wells. (Kennet MS. Lanfd. 986, fo. 148.) On July 6, 1616, he was incorporated M.A. of Oxford. (Fafti A. O. f. a. 1616.)

² John King, D.D., 1602, born at Warnhall, educated at Weftminfter; Student of Chrift Church, 1576; Chaplain in Ordinary to Archbishop Piers and L. K. Egerton, Rector of S. Andrew's, Holborn, 1597; S. Anne and Agnes, London, 1580; Prebendary of S. Paul's, 1599; Lincoln, 1610; Archdeacon of Nottingham, 1590; Dean of Chrift Church, 1605; Vice-Chancellor, 1607-10; Conf. to London, Sep. 8, 1611. He died 1621, and was buried in S. Paul's. (Walcott's Bifhops of London.)

³ See my Cathedrals of the United Kingdom, under S. Paul's. In the life of his chancellor Northcote related that the gentlemen used to walk about Durham and York minsters

ten pieces at a time. But above all others he was taken notice of by that renowned Prelate, John Williams,¹ Dean of Westminster, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, 1621, a Prelate of incomparable learning and knowledge, not only in divinity and tongues, but in all laws, civil, canon, and common, who presently, upon his receiving the Seal, sent for Mr. Hacket, of Trinity College, and admitted him to be his Chaplain, whom of all his Chaplains he ever most loved and esteemed. And on the other side our Bishop would to his last breath acknowledge the Bishop of Lincoln to be the most happy instrument of Divine Providence that made him known to the world, and to his death bore a most grateful memory to his great deserts and dignity, notwithstanding all his eclipses and slanders cast upon him.

["He called me," writes Hacket, "from Cambridge in the year before he was installed Dean of Westminster, to the house of his dear cousin, Mr. Elwis Wyin, in Chancery Lane, a clerk of the petty bag; there he moved his questions to me about the discipline of Dr. Andrewes. I told him how strict that excellent man was to charge all masters that they should give us lessons out of none

¹ John Williams, S.T.P., born at Conway, educated at Westminster; Fellow of S. John's, Cambridge, 1603; Chaplain to L. C. Egerton and the King; Rector of Llanvair, 1597; Doddinghurst, 1601; Grafton, 1611; Waldegrave, 1614; Prebendary of Hereford, 1612; Lincoln, 1613; Peterborough, 1616; Præc. of Lincoln, 1613; Archdeacon of Caermarthen, 1612; Lord Keeper, 1621; Master of the Savoy, Dean of Salisbury, 1619; Westminster, 1620; consecrated to Lincoln, 1621; translated to York, 1641; died at Gladden, 1650, buried at Llandegai. Williams preferred no less than eleven members of Trinity College in the Cathedral and Diocese of Lincoln, including G. Herbert, Dr. Simson, Creighton, Ferne, Duport, Scattergood, Williamson, and Thorndike. (Hacket's Life of Williams, pt. ii., p. 42. Thorndike's Serv. of God, c. iv. § 5.)

Wm.
Merdith
Walcott

~~Thorndike~~

but the most classical authors; that he did often supply the place both of head schoolmaster and usher for the space of the whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night. How he caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him to examine our style and proficiency, that he never walked to Chefwick for his recreation without a brace of the young fry, and in that wayfaring leisure had a singular dexterity to fill these narrow vessels with a funnel, and which was the greatest burden of his toil. Sometimes thrice a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from 8 to 11, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue, and the elements of the Hebrew grammar, and all this he did to boys without any impulsion of correction, nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us. Alas! this is but an ivyleaf crept into the laurel of his immortal garland."¹

When Mr. Hacket was now a great tutor, and the very darling of the College, generally beloved, and so contented, as like to have long there continued, my Lord Keeper would have him to his service, saying withal, As his Majesty King James had been blamed by many for making so young a Keeper, so he expected to be censured for choosing so young a Chaplain; but his Lordship knew his abilities very well, and would trust nobody with the choice of his servants but himself.

[Hacket was inducted Rector of Stoke Hammond, Bucks, on Sept. 30, 1621, his patron, Williams, having received the Seal on July 14, and held it till 1624.² On Nov. 2, on the presentation of the King, the see of Lincoln being vacant, he

¹ Life of Williams, p. 45.

² Lipscomb, Bucks. iv. 362.

He was tutor from 1618 to 1621 to John Hobart, a kinsman of Lord Hobart. He received payment from Mr. Hobart's uncle about "Mr. Hobart's carrier" and adds, "concerning the conveying any sum to my father, but once in my life,"

was instituted to the Rectory of Kirkby-Underwood.¹ On Feb. 13, 1623, he was elected Proctor of the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln.]

[6.] Two years he spent in the Keeper's service before his time was come to commence Bachelor of Divinity, but then begged leave to go down to Cambridge to keep the Public Act, 1623, upon the two following questions: "Judicio Romanæ Ecclesiæ in Sanctis canonizandis non est standum." "Vota Monasticæ perfectionis (quæ dicuntur) sunt illicita."

The former question was given very seasonably; for the year before, 1622, Pope Gregory XV. had canonised Ignatius Loyola,² the Father of the Jesuits; Franciscus Xavier,³ the Indian Apostle; Philip Nereus,⁴ the General of the Jesuits; and Madam Terefia,⁵ a Spanish Virtuosa, who had built twenty-five monasteries for men, and seventeen for women.

He cast his position into three parts: 1. Because the Holy Scripture saith, "The memory of the just shall be blessed," that all canonization of Saints is not to be accounted superstitious, but by canonization he meant only a public testimony of the Christian Church, of any eximious member's sanctity and glory after death. 2. That this testimony ought to be given by General or Provincial Councils at least of their own members. 3. By no means to be left to the breast of the Roman Pontiff, and Col-

¹ Kennet MS. 986, fo. 153.

² Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Order of Jesus, c. 1540; died 1556.

³ Francis Xavier, the friend of Loyola, who converted Japan and China; buried at Malacca. (Brev. Rom. Dec. 2. Hacket's Cent. p. 659.)

⁴ Philip Neri, a Florentine Priest, founder of the Fathers of the Oratory, 1550. See Life, Par. 1659.

⁵ See Acta Canonizationis, 12°. 1628. Brev. Rom. Oct. 15.

~~1623, 1624. John Hacket, A.M., presented by the King to Kirkby-Underwood. (Reg. Linc. fo. 135; A. O. iv. 826.) Whilst here he was in the habit of entertaining Oxford students. (Ballard MS. xlv. fo. 435.)~~

lege of Cardinals. 1. Because they especially attended to false qualifications, which they made undoubted signs of faintship, which were not such. 2. Consequently had already canonized unworthy persons, not beatified in Heaven, but rather damned in Hell. 3. For perverse and impious ends, which they ever thought to establish by their canonization. In all these respects the Pope of Rome, (who is their Virtual Church,) was apparently a most partial and unmeet judge, very apt to be imposed upon himself, and likewise to impose upon others.

[7.] After his return to the Keeper's service, he preferred him to the Court to be Chaplain to King James, before whom he preached several times, to the great good liking of that most learned King, and once upon the Gowrie's Conspiracy,¹ for which a Thanksgiving was continued all that King's reign upon August 5; and though some people have denied the Treason, yet our good Bishop was assured that the most religious Bishop Andrews once fell down upon his knees before King James, and besought his Majesty to spare his customary pains upon that day, that he might not mock God unless the thing were true. The King replied, Those people were much to blame who would never believe a treason unless their Prince were actually murdered; but did assure him on the faith of a Christian, and upon the word of a King, their treasonable attempt against him was too true.

[8.] In 1624 he was preferred by the Lord Keeper to be Parson of S. Andrew's, Holborn.

¹ The text on the Gowrie's Conspiracy was Psalm xli. 9. Three Sermons preached at Whitehall before the King are printed in Plume's Century; and one on the Coronation at the Spital, in the Mayoralty of Sir Cuthbert Hacket, occurs in p. 711. ~~It is said that some say in his Preface, among the eighty times a Court in the reign of the~~
~~Charles I. and II. (See Andrewes, vol. iv. p. 1; Ang. Cath. Lib.)~~

Insert from p. 32.

About 12 at night the Keeper sent to speak with him; when he came, his Lordship told him, he was not then watching for his own study, but for his. The living of S. Andrew's, Holborn, was fallen, and in the King's disposal, by reason of the minority of Thomas,¹ Earl of Southampton, to which, upon the mediation of the Bishop, he was presented the next morning by King James.

The same year his Lordship procured for him the Parsonage of Cheam,² in Surrey, fallen likewise into the King's gift by the promotion of Dr. Senhouse³ to the Bishopric of Carlisle; the Keeper telling him, that he intended him Holborn for *wealth*, and Cheam for *health*; these two livings being within a small distance of ten miles, he held till the troubles came, and though he was a great lover of residence, and would say non-residence was never to be excused; but when utility to the Church, or necessity to the person for his real health or fitting state required it, yet he would often dispute the necessity of a country living for a London minister to retire to in hot summer time, out of the sepulchral air of a churchyard, where most of them are housed in

¹ Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl, died in 1624. Thomas, 4th Earl, afterwards K.G. and Lord Treasurer; created Earl of Chichester, 1644; died May 16, 1667. (Burke's Ext. Peerage. Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 68.)

² He held Cheam from 1624 to 1666. (Manning's Surrey, ii. 479.) Among his predecessors were Bps. Watson of Chichester, Andrews of Winchester, and Archbishop Mountain of York. As Rector he signed the loyal address of the Surrey Clergy, August 10, 1660. (Kennet, iii. 226.)

³ Richard Senhouse, S.T.P., 1622, born at Alneborough Hall; Fellow of S. John's and Trinity College, Cambridge; Chaplain to Prince Charles; Vicar of Bumstead, 1607; Rector of Cheam, Dean of Gloucester, 1621; Preacher at the Coronation of Charles I.; consecrated to Carlisle, Sept. 26, 1624, through the influence of the Earl of Bedford, whose Chaplain he was; he died 1626, and was buried at Carlisle. (D'Ewes' Diary, 28.)

the city, and found for his own part that by Whitsuntide he did *rus ambulare*, and unless he took fresh air in the vacation, he was stopped in his lungs and could not speak clear after Michaelmas. But upon one of these he was constantly resident, making as few excursions for pleasure or recreation as any man living, scarce ever absent from both, nor long from either; inasmuch that his friend Dr. Holdsworth¹ said, Dr. Hacket resided more upon *two* livings, than any Puritan (that ever he knew) did upon *one*; who usually made more idle fallies and gossiping visits from their charge to markets and fairs, and of late to attend committees, and such secular employments, than they whom they ejected for non-residents, did in their attendance at Court or elsewhere.

Our Bishop would declare, that naturally he was disaffected to live either in city or Court, yet it pleased God, against his disposition, to bring him into both, who valued rural retirement and repose at his study above all the riches and dignities of the world, and would often therefore recite those words, "Come, my beloved, let us retire into the villages," &c. (Cant. vii. 11;) and that unless it were for the

¹ Richard Holdsworth, S.T.P., son of a clergyman, born at New-castle; Scholar, and Fellow, and Master of S. John's College, 1633; M.A. Oxford, 1617; Divinity Professor at Gresham College, 1630; Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1633; Rector of S. Peter-le-Poor, 1623-42; Margaret Professor, Cambridge; Chaplain to L. J. Sir H. Hobart, benefited in the West Riding of York; Fourth Master of Emmanuel, 1637-44; he was Sir Symonds D'Ewes' tutor; he refused the see of Bristol; Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 1640-3; he was imprisoned for printing King Charles' Declaration at Ely House, and during four years in the Tower. (Fuller, 279-80, 319.) He attended Charles I. at Hampton Court; he became Dean of Worcester, 1646, but was never installed; he died August 22, 1649, and was buried in S. Peter-le-Poor, London. (Green's Wore. i. 225; Hutton, ii. 489; Walker, ii. pt. i. p. 79; Strype's Stow, i. pt. 2. p. 80; Kennet, iii. 872; S. D'Ewes' Diary, 37.)

service of GOD, all the world should not hire him to live among butchers, and bakers, and brewers, tradesmen of all sorts in the narrow streets of London, where he could not see the sun but in some few days all summer. Yet this he willingly yielded to, a great part of the year for the sake of others, knowing with S. Hierom, "*Sancta simplicitas solum sibi prodest*;" country retirement was good only for himself, but his place at Holborn rendered him beneficial to others, and he therefore would compare the contemplative life spent in prayer, study and meditation, to Rachel, who was very beautiful, but almost barren; on the other side, an active and laborious one, spent in daily conversation and holy ministrations to mankind, to Leah, who was more fruitful, though less pleasing and fair; and to encourage Divines to this, observed that no less than three of four Evangelists had taken it for their principal task to record our SAVIOUR's travels and miracles, going up and down from one city to another, only S. John took the other subject to recount to us, especially our SAVIOUR's meditations and prayers; and therefore he little valued that commendation of many Popish Saints for leaving the company of mankind, and retiring into deserts where they could scarce have opportunity at any time to exercise piety or charity, which was in his opinion to forsake the plough, and cast off CHRIST's yoke, and embrace idleness, if not pleasure.

At Holborn he generally resided till the end of Trinity Term, and preached in person upon all the great Feasts of the Church, and all Sundays in Term when the judges and lawyers were in town,¹ with-

¹ High Holborn, during the incumbency of Hacket, as we deduce from the Registers, served as fashionable country lodgings; Ely House was the residence of Sir Thomas Coventry, L. K.; Sir Harry Vane,

out admitting any supply, and then commonly retired in the long vacation for health and privacy till Michaelmas Term. Sometimes indeed he would steal out of town for one month in the Spring, which he believed no man did so much epicurize as himself, who ever found a most luscious sweetness in the month of April, and nothing else so pleasant in this life, as with a book in his hand to walk and view the fields and flowers, and to observe every blossom how it grew in that delicious season of the year.

In the last year of King James he was named by the King himself to attend an Ambassador into Germany,¹ at which he was very glad, being most desirous to travel, and be acquainted with learned men abroad, saying, Only low souls loved to dwell always at home, but more knowing and divine (like the Heavens above) delighted in business and motion; yet upon second thoughts he was dissuaded from the journey, for having wrote Loyola, he was

the Earl of Lincoln, and Sir T. Richardson, afterwards the famous judge, lived in Chancery Lane; and among residents in High Holborn occur the names of the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir H. Tufton; Lord Rich at Warwick House, Viscount Saye and Sele, Lord De la Warr, the Earl of Southampton, at Southampton House, Sir Thomas Hatton, at Hatton House, Viscount Mandeville, Sir G. Hastings, Sir Charles Somerset, Sir Anthony Cooper, the Earl of Newport, the Lord Douglas, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Lord Sherard, and by a singular coincidence, the Lord Brooke, at Brooke House, who was shot at Lichfield 1642; while the banns of marriage of Matthew, son of Sir Richard Dyott, of Lichfield, were published in the Church, June, 1655.

¹ Probably the mission of the Earls of Carlisle and Holland in 1624-5 to France on the Marriage Treaty is meant. The fact of having written Loyola would render the appointment of its author impolitic at a time when a scheme was on foot for union with Rome. (Kennet, ii. 774; Knight, iii. 106.) In 1623 there was a treaty for suspension of arms in Germany. (Rymer, vii. p. iv. p. 69.) In 1625, being then B.D., he was named Commissioner for Causes Ecclesiastical, and again in 1633. (Rymer, vii. p. iv. p. 104; viii. p. i. p. 205, p. iv. 34.)

(In 1754, James St. Amand left a handsome bequest to Christ's Hospital with a portrait of his grandfather John St. Amand, which he had forfeited the legacy to the University of Oxford.

26

Life of Bishop Hacket.

told he would never be able to go safe through in an Ambassador's train.

To the memory of King James no man living bore greater respect than our Bishop did for his great wisdom, learning, pacific disposition, and affection to the Church, to which he thought he might be styled a benefactor equal to Constantine the Great.¹ His life he long intended to write, and to that purpose the Keeper conferred upon him Mr. Camden's² MS. Notes of that King's reign till his own death, 1623; and his dear friend and fellow servant, Mr. John St. Amand,³ communicated to him many choice letters and secrets of State of his own collection, who in like manner designed the same thing, to whom the Bishop recommended the perfecting thereof. But the melancholy rust of the civil war had so eaten into that gentleman's soul, that it had quite unfitted him, and the Bishop also having lost many of his books and papers upon his sequestration at Holborn, was made incapable to proceed farther in it.

[9.] And now having spent some time in his country solitariness at Cheam, where he had no company but his books, (though formerly he never meant to have entered into a married state,) he cast

¹ Constantine, born 274; Emperor of Rome, 312; founder of Constantinople; died 337.

² Camden, born in the Old Bailey, 1551; educated at Christ's Hospital, S. Paul's School, and Oxford; Head Master of Westminster, 1592; Clarencieux King-at-Arms, 1597; Prebendary of Salisbury; died at Chiselmhurst 1623, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Aubrey accuses Thorndike of "filching from Camden as he lay a-dying minutes of James I., from his entrance into England," and also Hacket; and Wood follows him, (Athen. Ox. ii. 347,) but Camden died before he had completed the annals of James I., although he had written a skeleton history up to Aug. 18, 1623, this work left in the author's own MS. was at Hacket's death deposited in Trinity College Library. (Aubrey's Lives, ii. pt. i. p. 272; Alum. Westm. 12.)

³ John St. Amand, ~~probably~~ Secretary to the Lord Keeper; M.P. for Stamford, 1623 and 1625.

his affection upon a religious and virtuous gentlewoman, whom he made his wife. With this secret he had never acquainted his master the Keeper, and therefore doubted how he would take it; but upon his Lordship's first hearing thereof by another hand, he instantly took coach and made him a visit, and enjoined him only, as ever he had deserved well of him, to requite it unto her. By her God blessed him with several hopeful children, but she died in 1637. And after some years he was married a second time to a most select, wise, and religious woman, by whom likewise he had a second posterity, and by both lived to see thirty-two children and grandchildren before his death. [His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Wm. Stebbing, of Soham, Suffolk. In the register of Cheam is this entry, "Elizabetha uxor charissima Doctoris Hacket reverendi ecclesiæ rectoris quæ sepulta fuit, die 18^o. Aprilis, 1638." ~~Communicated by Rev. T. C. Martin, D.D.~~ His second wife was Frances, daughter of — Bennet, of Cheshire, and widow of Dove Bridgeman, Prebendary of Chester,¹] *and Rector of Tattonhall, who died 1637, Willis. p. 348.*

[10.] 1628, he commenced Doctor of Divinity, when he preached the Morning Sermon upon Herod not giving glory to God, and being struck by an Angel, and eaten up of worms,² (Acts xii. 23;) and performed all other exercises to the admiration of Dr. Collins³ and all other Professors, who dismissed

¹ Hacket Pedigree, Coll. of Arms, k. 3. Visit. of Warw. 1683, fol. 168; Mod. Rec. Norf. 10, p. 95, for a fight of which I am indebted to my friend Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King-at-Arms. (Collins, viii. 369.)

² Printed by Plume, p. 92.

³ Samuel Collins, S.T.P., a native of Buckingham; Provost of King's College, 1615; Rector of Braintree, 1611, Milton and Feaditton; Regius Professor of Divinity, Oct. 22, 1617; Prebendary of Ely Cathedral, in the 7th stall, Feb. 19, 1617; died Sept. 16, 1651, and is buried in King's College Chapel. (B. Willis, Cath. iii. 388; Fuller, 315-9; Bentham's Ely, 261.) *Self of Williams p. 1.*

him to London again with an *I Decus I Nostrum!* At his return to Holborn his fame increased exceedingly, where by indefatigable study, constant preaching, exemplary conversation, and wise government he reduced that great parish to a more perfect conformity than ever they were in before.¹ His Church was not only crowded at Sermons, but well attended upon all occasions of weekly Prayer, and Sacraments celebrated monthly, besides other times, at which, especially upon the Church's Festivals, not only the whole body of the Church, but the galleries would also be full of communicants, and all things were done *in decoro sanctitatis*, in the beauty of holiness; few or none would break the public order and decent customs of his Church, but the whole congregation generally rose and sat, fell down or kneeled, and were uncovered together. He liked ceremony no where so well as in God's House, as little as you would in your own, (was his phrase,) but could by no means endure to see in this complimentary age, men ruder with God than with men, bow lowly and often to one another, but never kneel to God. He thought superstition a less sin than irreverence and profaneness, and held the want of reverence in religious assemblies amongst the greatest sins of England, and would prove it from many histories, that a careless and profane discharge of God's worship was a most sure prognostic of God's anger, and that people's ruin.

When a stranger preached for him upon a Sunday he would often read the prayers himself, and with that reverence and devotion, that was very moving to all his auditors; and upon Wednesdays and Fridays he would frequently do the like, and

¹ Stephen Birkbeck was reclaimed from Romanism by him, Jan. 29, 1626. (Dom. Scr. Cal. State Papers, p. 238.)

thereby engaged many to resort better to them, always assuring them God would soonest hear our prayers in the Communion of Saints. Sometimes when he had occasion to go into the city, and saw slender congregations at prayer, he would much wonder at his countrymen, that had so little love to holy prayer ; but when he heard of any that would not go to church to prayer unless it were accompanied with a sermon, he would not scruple to say he scarcely thought them Christians, and never deemed any divine to be really famous and successful in his preaching who could not prevail with his people to come frequently to sacraments and prayers.¹

He was a great lover of Psalmody, and above all a great admirer of David's Psalms, so full of Divine praises, and of all religious mysteries, great helps to contemplation, apt to beget a Divine charity, being a perfect supply for all our wants, joyful to angels, grievous to devils, filling the heart with spiritual delights, and a kind of representation of the celestial felicity—that he constantly called upon his people to be present at them, and at all parts of the Church's prayers, remembering them that after our Blessed SAVIOUR had cast out the sheep and oxen, yet He still called His House the House of prayer, to show that though those sacrifices were at an end, yet this should never end ; and therefore the Apostles themselves after His death resorted to the Temple at the hours of prayer, (Acts iii. 1.)

He ever took great care to procure a grave and able curate, a Master of Arts at least, for the instruction of the younger sort in the Church Catechism, Visiting of the Sick, Burial of the Dead,

¹ Even in 1708 prayers were said at S. Andrew's daily at 6, 11, and 3. (Hutton's New View, ii. 118.)

preaching of Funeral Sermons, Christenings and Marriages; these he generally left to the curate for his perquisites and better encouragement, and would often complain that in great parishes there was not competent maintenance to keep many curates under the Parish Priest, that might be able to live at the altar, and better discharge all private and domestic duties of piety, sorrowing that herein Popish countries were better provided for, who had ten for one that wait at the altar there more than we have among us, and therefore though he would much recommend daily visiting of the flock from house to house, yet found it was impossible for one minister to perform the public and private duties both.

Private Baptisms he would never countenance unless in cases of necessity, or some great convenience, as being expressly contrary to the constitutions of our Church, and greatly derogatory to the dignity of the Sacrament to be dispensed in a parlour or a chamber, and not with that solemnity that our initiation into God's Church required, and therefore greatly commended the Lutherans who baptized none at home but the sick and the spurious.¹

Funeral Sermons, though he rarely preached himself, yet he defended them to be no novelty brought in with the Reformation,² for John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, hath one in print for Henry the Seventh;³ and in Edward the Sixth's time an hearse was set up in S. Paul's church for King Francis the First of France, and a funeral sermon likewise preached for him by Dr. Ridley, Bishop of Rochester.⁴

¹ C. E. Brochman, *Cat. Conf.* (See Walchius, ii. 147.)

² Heylyn, *Hist. of Reform.* p. 40, ed. 1674.

³ Wynkyn de Worde printed his sermon on the death of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, in 1508, since republished at Cambridge, 1806.

⁴ Dugdale's *S. Paul's*, 23: in 1547 Ridley was elect Bishop only.

a candidate on receiving his degree in medicine
all refused was accompanied by all the members of the
faculty to the His Friendly Parishioners. Concocting these,
and presented each of them with a pair of gloves. No. 10.

While he lived in this parish he would give God *henn-gan*
thanks he got a good temporal estate; parishioners *to the*
of all sorts were very kind and free to him, divers *in building*
lords and gentlemen, several judges and lawyers of *of St Pauls*
eminent quality were his constant auditors, whom *the court of*
he found like Zenas, (Tit. iii. 13), honest lawyers, *his cause*
conscientious to God, and lovers of the Church of *his cause*
England, and very friendly and bountiful to their *in dinner*
minister. Sir Julius Caesar¹ never heard him preach *and a*
but he would send him a broad piece, and he did *hundred*
the like to others; and he would often send a Dean *pair of gloves*
or a Bishop a pair of gloves because he would not
hear God's Word gratis. Judge Jones² never
went to the Bench at the beginning of a Term but
he fasted and prayed the day before, and oftentimes
got Dr. Hacket to come and pray with him. This
strict Judge condemned one for stealing a Common
Prayer Book out of his church, whom he could not
save, the Judge would by no means forgive him,

¹ Or Adelmare, born at Tottenham, 1557; M.A. Magdalene Hall, Oxford, 1578; LL.D. Paris, 1581; Judge of the Admiralty Court, 1584; Master of Requests, 1595; Treasurer of Inner Temple, 1593; Master of S. Catharine's Hospital, 1596; Knight, 1603; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1606; P. C., 1607; Master of the Rolls, 1614. He died April 18, 1636; and was buried in S. Helen's, Bishopsgate. He was very liberal to the poor, but a place-hunter, and of no judicial reputation. (Fols' Judges, vi. 267; Hutton, i. 275; Malcolm, Lond. Rediv. iii. 560.) Gloves were given as presents, (1 Zur. Lett. 130-3; Zur. 454, 456,) by the Countess of Spencer in 1675 to her friends, (Notes and Queries, ii. 4:) and Bishops till 1678 gave gloves at their consecration dinner. (Ibid. i. 220.) "The churchwardens used to give xii. payr of gloves yerely at Easter, that is vi. payre to the person, vi. payr to the other officers of the parishe, as churchwardens, clerks, sexton, and syngyng men, which gloves come by cost x or xii. at the parishe charges, a. 6 Mary and a. 1 Eliz." (Bentley's MS., S. Andrew's, Holborn, 1580, p. 152.)

² Sir William Jones, born at Castellmarch; educated at Beaumaris School, and S. Edmund Hall, Oxford; Knight; Chief Justice of King's Bench, Ireland, 1617; Judge of Common Pleas, 1621; and King's Bench, 1624. He died in Holborn, Dec. 9, 1640, and was buried in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. (Fols. vi. 338.)

A.O.II.673

Known a friend of archbishops Laud [works. v. 155]

To Charles I.
the Queen,
the Doctor and
a Bishop
by the University
of Oxford
1628 (works
Annals. 408)

because of the sacredness of the place, but accepted well of his intercession, and said he should prevail in another matter; and when the Doctor saw he could not succeed, he thanked the Judge for 'his severity.

[on Oct. 4]

[11.] In 1631, the Bishop of Lincoln made him Archdeacon of Bedford,¹ whither he ever after went once a year, commonly the Week after Easter, and made the clergy a speech upon some controverted head, seasonable to those times, exhorting them to keep strictly to the orders of the Church, to regular conformity to the doctrine and discipline of law established, without under or over doing, adding in his opinion that Puritanism lay on both sides, whosoever did more than the Church commanded as well as less, were guilty of it; and that he was a true son of the Church that broke not the bounds of it either way.

[In 1633, in Nov. "Hacket coming to court to wait as chaplain, and with much wit congratulating (Bishop Wren) the Clerk upon his nearer access to the King, began to tell him what hopes he and many others had that he would have been made Bishop of London, and that so the King at first intended, not the Archbishop suggested that the Bishop of London should be a man of whom the Archbishop should have experience, and upon whom he could rely, and so obtained London for his lordship of Hereford. Wren paid no regard to Hacket's foolery, suspecting it to be a contrivance of some discontented courtier to breed in him a dislike of Laud, but resolving to keep his faith with the King and Archbishop, acquainted them presently with

March 17, 1660, by the rebels; he built Pembroke Hall Chapel, in which he is buried; consecrated to Hereford, 1635; translated to Norwich, 1635, and Ely, 1638; died April 24, 1667. (Bentham's Ely, 200.) "The Bishop of London was granted me at Southwick." (Laud's Diary, June 17, 1627.)

¹ Gifford, 222. (B. Willis, 124, he was installed Prebendary of Ailbury in Lincoln Cathedral, Dec. 20, 1623. (B. Willis, Cath. 134; Lipscomb, Bucks, ii. 35; Kennet, iii. 481, 657.)

as note

what had passed. The King approved well his conduct herein, and told him there was no truth in the report, nor anything but a plot to kindle coals between them two."¹]

[12.] About this time of King Charles the First's reign it was justly said, *Stupor mundi Clerus Anglicanus*; and whereas in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reformation Siquis's had been set up in S. Paul's;² if any man could understand Greek there was a Deanery for him, if Latin a good living, but in the long reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James the clergy of the Reformed Church of England grew the most learned of the world, for by the restlessness of the Roman Priests they were trained up to arms from their youth, and by the wisdom and example of King James, had wrote so many learned tractates as had almost quite driven their adversaries out of the pit, and forced them to yield the field; so that now we were only unhappy in our own differences at home. But above all the Bishop admired, that people should complain in those days for want of preaching wherein lived Brownrig,³

¹ Parent. pp. 49, 50.

² Bishop Hall refers to this practice:

"Sawst thou ever Si Quis patched on Paul's church door
To seek some vacant vicarage before?
Who wants a Churchman that can service say?
Read fast and fair her monthly homily,
And wed, and bury, and make Christian souls?
Come to the left side alley of S. Poule's."

(*Vergidem*, lib. ii. sat. vii.)

³ Ralph Brownrigg, S.T.P., born at Wellisham, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Master of S. Catharine's Hall, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 1638, 1643-4; Rector of Burley, Madingly, 1616; Master of the Temple; Prebendary of Ely, 1621; Durham, 1641; Archdeacon of Coventry, 1631; Lichfield, 1621; consecrated to Exeter, Nov. 18, 1641. He never saw his diocese, and lived at Sonning during the Rebellion. He died Dec. 7, 1659; and is buried in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. (*Oliver's Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*; Newcourt, i. 547.)

and Holdsworth,¹ and Micklethwait,² and both the Shutes,³ and infinite more, especially Josiah Shute,⁴ whom the Bishop ever termed, Generalis Prædicatorum, in allusion to the General of the Jesuits, or the Præpositus Dominicanorum, besides many other incomparable orators in and about the City of London.

In the first rank of whom our excellent Bishop may well be reckoned if we consider his acute wit, deep judgment, flowing elocution, singular learning, and great reading, whereby (as Porphyry⁵ complained of Origen) he made use of all heathen learning to adorn the doctrine of Christianity; who was expert withal to handle both Testaments, Law and Gospel, that sometimes his auditors would acknowledge that he had (like S. Chrysostom) swarms of bees sitting upon his lips,⁶ and that nothing but honey and milk lay under his tongue; at other times he seemed (like S. Basil) to be a strong hail shower bearing down all before it, and, as was said of

¹ See p. 23.

² "Paul Micklethwait, S.T.P., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, an eminent preacher, favoured by the Bishop of Ely and all the heads of houses to have the place of town lecturer at Trinity Church, 1624." (Fuller, 309.) Preacher and afterwards Master of the Temple, London; Lecturer of Little S. Mary's, Cambridge; he died 1638. (Hutton, ii. 573; D'Ewes' Diary, 42.)

*Another Chrysostom for preaching
(Fuller's Hist of
Camb. 1824)*
³ Nathaniel Shute, born at Giggleswick, of Christ's College, Cambridge; Rector of S. Mildred's, Poultry, S. Margaret Moses, 1613-18, died 1638. (Fuller's Worthies, ii. 517; Lloyd's Memoirs, 295; Newcourt, i. 503; Kennet, Lanld. MS., 985 fol. 53.)

⁴ Josiah brother of Nathaniel Shute, of Trinity College, Cambridge; Rector of S. Mary Woolnoth, Nov. 29, 1611; Archdeacon of Colchester, April 15, 1642; died 1642. (Fuller's Worthies, ii. 518; Lloyd's Memoirs, 293; Newcourt, i. 93, 463.) *Gramsci II. 167*

⁵ Melech, born at Tyre, 233, and surnamed by his master Longinus, the famous critic, Porphyry; while very young he attended Origen at Cæsarea, but afterwards went to Lilybæum, and wrote against Christianity: he died at Rome, 304.

⁶ See Philoth. Orat. Bibl. Patr. T. ii. p. 329, ed. 1624.

Pericles, left a *νέρπον*, or wound upon the most obstinate and insensible mind behind him. Yet, as Joseph Scaliger¹ would say,² he envied the learning of three men, Theodorus Gaza,³ Angelus Politianus,⁴ and Picus Mirandula,⁵ so the Bishop would acknowledge he could never enough admire Usher's⁶ profound skill in antiquity, Overall's⁷ great knowledge in Divinity, nor imitate Brownrig's preaching when he would put forth his utmost powers.

[13.] But let any man peruse his course of excellent sermons upon all our SAVIOUR CHRIST's great Works and many more remarkable matters of

¹ Joseph Justus Scaliger, born at Agen, 1540; Professor of Belles Lettres at Leyden, 1590; Grotius was his pupil. As a critic he was pre-eminent; he died Jan. 21, 1609.

² In Opusc.

³ Theodore Gaza, born at Thessalonica in the fifteenth century; retired to Italy after the capture of Constantinople; Cardinal Bessarion became his patron, and he translated many of the Classics; he died 1475 at Rome. (Moreri, iv. 57.)

⁴ John Angelo Politianus, born at Monte Pulciano, a famous logician of Poitiers at the beginning of the 16th century; he wrote against Bellarmine on the subject of the Eucharist; Daillé was his pupil. (Moreri, vii. 278.)

⁵ John Pic, Seigneur of Mirandola; Scaliger called him *monstrum sine vitio*; he was a prodigy of learning and provoked by it a charge of heresy which could not be sustained; he died at Florence, Nov. 17, 1494. (Moreri, vii. 205.)

⁶ James Usher, the glory of the Irish Church and University, born in Dublin; Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, Dublin; Chancellor of S. Patrick's; consecrated to Meath, 1621; translated to Armagh, 1624, and Bishop of Carlisle, 1641; Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, 1647; he died at Reigate, 1655, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (See Elrington's Life.)

⁷ John Overall, S.T.P., born at Hadleigh, Fellow of Trinity College; Master of S. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, 1598; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1596; Vicar of Epping, 1592; Rector of Thorfield and Clothall; Prebendary and Dean 1602 of S. Paul's; Prolocutor of Convocation, 1603-10; Fellow of Chelsea College, 1610; one of the translators of the Bible; he drew up the "Convocation Book;" he was consecrated, April 3, 1614, to Lichfield, and was translated to Norwich, Sept. 30, 1618; he died May 12, 1669, and is buried at Norwich. (Blomesfield's Norfolk, iii.)

Scripture, which were most of them his weekly preaching, together with what I hope will hereafter follow, whole Chapters and Psalms of Scripture expounded by continued discourses upon the chain of the holy Text from first to last, after the custom of the Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, and other ancient Fathers yet extant, and let him speak impartially if this great Prelate be not for learning, piety, perspicuity of phrase, and knowledge of Divine and human things almost equal with any of them.

Methinks when I read his accurate and divine labours, and withal contemplate the religious and peaceable days wherein they were preached, in an auditory equal to the greatest of old, wherein God was served with so much holy order, I cannot reckon with myself readily where, either by S. Austin at Hippo, S. John Chrysostom¹ at Antioch, or Constantinople, or the famous S. Basil at Neocæsarea, any people were more happy in the labours of a pastor, or any pastor more beloved by the wisest of his people. Whatsoever he^e preached to them once upon the LORD's Day, he preached six times over again in his pious conversation upon the days of the week following, and ever thought that frequent preaching was but a sorry commendation to any man unless prepared with study and diligence before, to speak as became the oracles of GOD, and likewise attended with agreeable practice afterwards, to make that easy by example which had been before only dictated in doctrine.

While he officiated here I must not forget two things more, first, his charity to the poor, of whom he held himself bound by his calling to have an

¹ S. John, "the golden-mouthed," born 354 at Antioch, Patriarch of Constantinople, 398; died 407 at Comana, buried at Constantinople.

*His sermons
appear to have
lasted an hour
from an expression
in his 3^d sermon
on the Resurrection
p. 569*

especial care, and be no less than a continual overseer; besides his spiritual alms and counsel upon all occasions freely administered, he gave freely also out of his own estate upon all holydays, and prayer-days, and would often engage the parish officers so to distribute their collections as might best bring the poor to prayers, to catechising, and to reap other benefit to their soul at the same time that they received a boon for the body.

In all public meetings, (which were many in that great parish) this worthy man would never so much as eat and drink (as the custom had been) upon the parish stock, but always bore his own expenses, though he met upon the parish account, so that by his prudence, and industry, and frugality for them the revenues of the poor were in his time very much increased above what they were formerly.

But his main concern for that place is yet behind, (Church and poor commonly go together, and he had an equal care of both) the church edifice was fallen into great decay, the churchyard too small to bury their dead, and the church itself too little to contain the living, so that a great desire he had to build them a new church from the ground, for which purpose he had obtained the promise of the Patron, the most religious and noble Earl of Southampton,¹ to confer all the timber for the roof, and very large subscriptions he had procured from the nobility and gentry, and from many other well-affected parishioners for the finishing of the rest, for these he had been soliciting from the time of his first coming; scarce any of quality dying, but according to ancient piety, at his request left a legacy to that purpose, which was laid up in the church chest; the good Doctor often telling them how mournful a sight it was to

¹ See p. 22.

him to see any place excel the church in beauty and magnificence, and that it was not the fashion in the best times of religion for any man to dwell better than GOD, and that the fabric of churches ought not only to be suited to the bare convention of people, but likewise to the riches and wealth of the parish or nation, from which GOD expected a suitable proportion to the setting forth of His glory. And therefore as much as King Solomon's temple exceeded Moses' tabernacle, so much did he conceive ought our churches now-a-days to exceed the poverty and plainness of our forefathers, and would often bewail to see the contrary, that our forefathers were sumptuous in GOD's house and poor at home; but we, who are far richer, have built our own houses rich and new, while GOD's house lies waste. To remedy this he was not willing to permit that any rich men's bones should lie sumptuously buried in his church who never bestowed so much upon GOD's house in their life as the value of their tomb amounted unto, saying, such did not adorn but trouble the Church.

By his persuasions many gave very liberally, in particular I remember the pleasantness of Sir Henry Martin,¹ who at his first speaking bade his man pay him thirty pounds, when he received it, because he gave him humble thanks, he bade his man count him five pounds more for his humble thanks.

About 1639,² having many thousands in Stock and in subscription, he went to my Lord's Grace of

¹ Sir Henry Martin, D.C.L., 1595, knight, 1616, educated at Winchester, Fellow of New College, Oxford, 1582; M.P. for Oxford University, 1627; Dean of Arches, Judge of the Admiralty and Prerogative Courts; Official of Bedford; King's Advocate. He died 1641, and is buried at Longworth. (See my William of Wykeham and his Colleges, 405: Kennet, Lansd. MS. 985 fol. 20.)

² 26 Jan., 1639, Hacket covenanted to give forty pounds to the

Canterbury, to ask his Lordship's leave that what workmen were willing might indifferently be entertained by him, without being thought prejudicial to the repair of S. Paul's:¹ but our troubles came on, and the Long Parliament seized the money gathered for the repair of both churches to carry on their war both against King and Church. Thus was he defeated in his pious intention here, yet GOD made him happy in accomplishing the like hereafter, as you shall hear elsewhere.

[14.] Long before, viz., in 1625, being the great plague year, which happened at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., upon complaint of the Common Councilmen of his parish that they wanted room to bury their dead, he purchased for that end the new churchyard in Shoe Lane, and because in that sickly time it could not be consecrated, he obtained under the Bishop of London's² hand and seal a leave provisional to read his Lordship's indulgence instrument only upon the ground, with promise of procuring consecration when the Plague ceased. At the same time with the consent of the

erection of the new parish church, to be paid at three several payments, Nov. 4, 1640, 20 marks; 1641, 20 marks; June, 1642, 20 marks. (MS. Subscription Book in S. Andrew's, shown to me by Rev. H. G. S. Blunt, Rector.)

¹ William Laud, translated Sept. 19, 1633. (See Life by Baines, Master.) In 1631 a commission was issued for the repairs of the church and steeple, towards which large subscriptions were collected, and in 1632 Inigo Jones, Surveyor General, began the work, and £101,330. 4s. 8d. were paid to the works from 1631 to 1643 inclusive, but the walls and roofs only were completed. (Hutton, ii. 456.) The present church of S. Andrew's was finished in 1687, after the design of Sir Christopher Wren, the old tower partly remains under modern casing. Thomas de Cottingham, Lord Keeper, Bishops King, Manningham, Stillingsfleet, and Luxmoore have been rectors.

² George Montaigne, consecrated to Lincoln, 1617; translated to London, July 20, 1621; and to York, 1628.

Bishop and his veftry in Holborn, he compofed a table wherein were fet the rates of burial in church or churchyard, new or old, and was able to prove that the like was done in elder times, and therefore the learned author¹ was deceived who thought all churchyards were freely given for the ufe of the dead ; and he found by experience unlefs you would allow fees for funeral attendances, the tithes would be too fmall in great parifhes to find officers who muft wait upon fuch occafions both day and night ; likewife unlefs you make diftinction of prices for burial all people will be buried in one place, in the very church, yea, and chancel itfelf if it might be allowed ; nor in a plague time can you get the poor borne to the grave, but it will coft dear ; and he was of opinion the profits got by the rich ought to pay for the poor, and that there was no more fimony in a divine's payment for fome hours' attendance upon a funeral than in the clerk's or fexton's payment for ringing of bells, or the heralds for their efcutcheons² and other infignia funebria now of late grown customary, yet moft of thefe were at firft mere oblations and freewill offerings, though now due fecundum legem terræ.

[15.] But to come to the moft afflicted part of his life, and our never to be forgotten calamities, in the late days of darknefs and gloominefs. He had often protefted that a long time before he forefaw our troubles gathering in the clouds of difcontents,

¹ Sir Henry Spelman, the friend of Camden, Selden, and Cotton, born 1562, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn : died in the Barbican, 1641, and is buried in Weftminfter Abbey.

² The fcocheon was the loweft difcription of heraldic enfign allotted for funerals, and was the prototype of the modern hatchment, but then painted on panel and faftened up in a church ; the other infignia were the helmet, mantle of black velvet, target with the arms, and the coat armour, like a herald's tabard.

P. 41. Henry King, D.D. 1625, fon of Bifhop King, of London, born at Wormenhale, 1591, educated at Weftminfter ; Student of Chrift Church, Oxford, 1641, and afterwards of the Inner Temple, 1643 ; he was one of three learned treatifes, the chief being on the Three Degrees of Right, ii. 118, iii. 370 ; Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 93-7 ; the

and would bewail that Charles I., the most religious and best of princes, met with so bad Parliaments, generally factious, discontented, and leavened with Puritans; whereas Queen Elizabeth ever had calm Parliaments, and that made her reign glorious, although she assumed more prerogative than either King James or King Charles, yet then nobody cried, Stand to the liberties of the people; but nothing destroyed liberty more than the affectation of too much liberty, besides he observed it was the design of parliaments to put that mild King upon wars, and then refuse to give him moderate supplies to serve his just necessities unless he would part with his court and his Church in exchange, whereby he was constrained to supply himself by way of Loan, which whosoever paid, much more whosoever of the King's divines persuaded others to pay, incurred the fury of the opposite party.

Then were the seeds of the future sedition sown with an evil report brought upon David's Government that all the people might loathe it, and after rise up to pluck it down. Libels and licentious discourses were scattered, ever portending future mutinies, as hollow blasts and secret murmurings in the air go before dangerous tempests at sea.^{*2} These things he discoursed not only from his own observation, but from the prediction of many holy and learned men, and wondered that Cardinal Bellarmin, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Mead after both should all agree that the Establishment of the Church of England was not like to continue above seventy or eighty years, the age of a man; and he would tell how the late Bishop of Chichester¹ hath said unto him his father foretold the same, and Bishop Wren

¹ Henry King, consecrated Feb. 6, 1641; his father was the Bishop of London mentioned in p. 17.

not meddle with me, for all the friends that he can make will be too few to avouch him. And so it unhappily proved in a short time: But do you not hope for it, says Hackett the such concessions as you fear will come to pass will give you your liberty? Possible? 329. The Archbishop "Heaven in the" like a stilling in the Parliament. b. 910.

When the Articles of Pacification made at Bomey, were burnt in London and Hackett brought the news of it to Bishop Williams in the Tower, his lordship broke out into these words, "I am right sorry for the King, who is like to be forsaken

said the same from Bishop Andrewes;¹ but above all Mr. John Shearman,² Register to my Lord of Canterbury, told him that he heard Archbishop Abbot before his death, at a solemn meeting before many friends, with many tears foretell the same; and it was our Bishop's opinion that the spirit of prophecy was not quite dried up, but sometimes prophetic et nunc God gave mankind still a knowledge of future events.

[16.] In the Convocation of 1640³ was composed a book of canons, which he well approved, always using to call Church Canons so many buttresses to the house of God raised up without the walls to support the building within. Yet considering the swinge of the times he once presumed to request my Lord of Canterbury not to proceed, but to indulge to the hardness of the people's hearts; for he was well assured if his Grace could make another Epistle to the Romans the people then would not receive it, and therefore often wished those books had never been made in England, nor the Liturgy sent into Scotland, which he would often bewail in the words of his learned friend,⁴ *Liturgia infelicitime ad Scotiam missa*, where the secular arm was too weak to protect the loyal party in their Ecclesiastical obedience.

[17.] He accounted it no good omen to have the

¹ The anecdote is related in Hearne's Langtoft's Chron. i. app. to Pref. pp. ccviii-xliii, Oxford, 1725. In 1623 at Winchester House Bishop Andrewes said to Dr., afterwards Bishop, Wren, before Bishop Neale, and Bishop Laud, "I am sure I shall be in my grave and so shall you, my lord of Durham, but my lord of S. David's and you, Doctor, will live to see that day, that your master will be put to it upon his head and his crown without he will forsake the support of the Church." (Comp. Kennet's Hist. of Eng. iii. p. 124, n. b.)

² Kennet, Lanf. MS. 986 fol. 142. *Life of Williams P. 2. p. 98.*

³ Dr. Stewart, Dean of Chichester, was Prolocutor. (See Lathbury, p. 221, &c.)

⁴ Selden. *Comp. Laud. Hist. of the Troubles pp. 168-9.*

Sun eclipsed that very hour the Long Parliament began, in November, 1640,¹ though not visible here save in the disastrous effects; from the beginning thereof all things were managed with uproars and tumults; however some hope there was that upon moderation shown matters might be peaceably composed, whereupon the House of Lords appointed a Committee out of their own members for settling peace in the Church in March following; at the same time the Lords appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare matters for their cognizance; the Bishop of Lincoln had the chair in both, and was authorized to call together divers bishops and other divines to consult for correction of what was amiss, and to settle peace; of the Sub-Committee those that appeared and consulted together in Jerusalem chamber at Westminster (some others were named) were these only, the Bishop of Lincoln,² Primate of Armagh,³ Bishop of Durham,⁴ Bishop Hall then

¹ The Committee for Religion was named March 1, 1648, (Laud in his Diary says March 15,) consisting of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons. "It professes," says Laud, (Works, vol. v. 437,) "to meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and to that end will call some divines to them to consider of and prepare business;" they were named to attend by Bishop Williams in a letter preserved by the Archbishop, (u. f.) Thomas Westfield, Rector of S. Bartholomew the Great, Prebendary of S. Paul's, Archdeacon of S. Alban's, and

Joshua Shute was also named. Jofias Shute was also named. Rector of Lambeth, was also

Repe- "That One Spirit, which divides to every man gifts as He pleases, seems to me to have dropped upon these three elect vessels, all of them some unction or tincture of the Spirit of Prophecy. Shall I say I hope or fear Mr. Herbert's lines should be verified?"

"Religion stands on tiptoe in our land," &c.

Master Farrer intimated that 'seven years would be long enough leases, troublous times were coming, they might thank God if they enjoyed them so long in peace.' . . . I much admire that strange appendix to the Sermons of Dr. Thomas Jackson, [President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford,] about the Signs of the Times, printed 1637. . . . It is still in God's power, we may fear in this purpose to plague this Kingdom by His own immediate hand, . . . by the sword, . . . to try many living souls, as well of superior as inferior rank in the eyes of their stately houses or meaner cottages. Was this a conjecture of prudence? or rather a prediction of an event?" (B. Oley's Life of George Herbert, pp. ci.-ciii.)

oly Polycarpus," as . 102,) born at York . John's, Cambridge, Marston, Tey Parva, Lord Eure, ambassador of the North; Dean (separated to Chester, Durham, 1632. He left his see in 1640,

a malicious intention to quarrel at it, said, that Christianity was a doctrine of too much patience, but he could never find any place in it to object that it was a doctrine of rebellion. If the administration of a kingdom were out of frame, our Bishop maintained it were better to leave the redress to God than to a seditious multitude, and that the way to continue purity of religion was not by rebellion, but by martyrdom. To resist lawful powers by seditious arms and unlawful authority, was not the primitive and Apostolical Christianity, but Popish doctrine, not taught the first 300 years, but much about 1000 years after our SAVIOUR'S Ascension into Heaven by the Pope of Rome, the very time the SPIRIT of GOD said, Satan should be let loose, viz., by Gregory VII.,¹ who first taught the Germans to rebel against the Emperor Henry IV. Yet this poison was now given the English people to drink out of the Papal cup, while they pretended quite contrary. But our Bishop ever asserted this was not the way to pull down Antichrist, but Protestant religion, and therefore he warned the Non-conforming Divines, with whom he lately treated, to have a care how they cried up a war, and became famous only in the congregation (as Erostratus²) by setting the temple on fire.

To prevent that fatal Bill of root and branch, the Committee condescended to print the Liturgic

Gaul, and Emperor of Rome, 361; killed in battle with Sapor King of Persia, June 27, 363, at the age of 32, and was buried at Constantinople. His writings against Christianity have been refuted by S. Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret.

¹ Gregory VII., Hildebrand, succeeded 1073, and died at Salerno 1085. (See Century, 687.)

² The incendiary who set fire to the famous temple of Diana, at Ephesus, in order to purchase a name among posterity, on the same night that Alexander the Great was born, B.C. 355.

Psalms in King James's Translation, to expunge all Apocryphal Lessons, and alter some passages in the body of the Book of Common Prayer, and certain other things, which divers of the Presbyterian Divines said were satisfactory,¹ save that the furious party of them put the Commons upon the violent way: in particular, old Mr. John White² told many of the party who still pressed at Conferences for further abatement of conformity, and the laws established, Time would come when they would wish they had been content with what was offered.³

[18.] While this Committee was sitting, the House of Commons having now entered upon the debate of taking away the whole government ecclesiastical by Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, with all their revenue, several members of the House being friends to the hierarchy, more than no man's freehold might be taken away without hearing them first speak for themselves; whereupon the whole Committee took the task upon Dr. Hacket forthwith to do in his own house and study, and meet them tomorrow morning prepared to speak as the Advocate of the Church of England in the behalf of Bishops and Chapters. The Speech⁴ itself I found in his papers, which in regard that it was not published at large, I have thought meet to set it follows:—

¹ See Cardwell's Conf. ch. vi. 239-41.

² See p. 43.

³ His prophecy was fulfilled in the Preface to the Non-
"Exceptions" and their "Rejoinder" at the Savoy Conference.
Cardwell's Conf. ch. vi. 241-2.)

⁴ A report of the Speech is given in Nelson's Coll. ii. 1.
Parl. Hist. ix. 322-4; and Neal's Puritans, ii. 391. He was
deputy or proctor of all the Cathedrals, as they were not
appear by counsel. His Speech was answered by Cornelius Burgess,
1641. Ath. Oxon. iii. 685, 687.

For Hacket's Speech, 1641, see Fuller, vi. 196, b. xi. Compare a
Defence of Cathedrals in Tanner MS. 141, fo. 86.

"Hacket, Archdeacon of Bedford, and one of the
Prebendaries of S. Paul's, pleaded both learnedly and stoutly in behalf
of those churches, and Burges of Watford, who not long before brought
down his myrmidons to cry for justice against Strafford to the Parliament
doors, was all for 'down with them to the very ground.' But though
they differed in their doctrine, yet they agreed well enough in their
applications. Burges declaring it unlawful as well as Hacket that the
revenues of these churches should otherwise be employed than to pious
uses." (Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 54- Ed. 1671.) Commu-
nicated by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A.

"May it please you, Mr. Speaker, and this Honourable House:

"Our expectations to be heard by Counsel in this great cause hath brought us unto you most unprepared to deliver that which might be uttered upon so copious subject. Yet since we have that favour from this Honourable House that we may be heard, or some one of us in our own persons, somewhat shall be offered to your prudent considerations by the meanest and most unpractised in pleading and forensical causes of all those that attend you this day. The unexpectedness to be thus employed (it was imposed upon me but yesterday afternoon, as my brethren know,) is joined with another disadvantage, that we have not heard upon what crimes or offences of the Deans and Chapters so great a patrimony as they enjoy is called in question, that we might purge ourselves of such imputations; but only reports that fly abroad have arrived at our ears, that Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Chapters are accounted by some to be of no use and convenience. I aim at perspicuity, and therefore I will cast what I have to say into as clear a method as I am able. The use and convenience of Deans and Chapters I reduce unto two heads, *quoad res, quoad personas*, first in regard of some things of great moment; secondly in regard to divers persons, whom I know the justice of this Honourable House will take into consideration.

"And first, since God hath called His House the House of Prayer, I shall keep a right order, without derogating to anything that follows, to present them unto you as very convenient for the service of prayer, which is offered up to God in them daily, both in His morning and in His evening Sacrifice. In the ancient Primitive Church (as many learned gentlemen in this Honourable House do know, and as my brethren that assist me can attest unto it) the Christians did every day meet at prayers, and for the most part at the Blessed Sacrament, if persecution did not distract them. Then it is fit in a well governed Church that there should be some places in imitation of them,

where daily thanksgivings and supplications should be made unto God. And whereas it cannot be supposed, but that divers remiss Christians do neglect oftentimes their daily duty of prayer, and some are forced to omit that length to which they would produce their prayer by their multitude of business, it is fit that there should be a public duty of prayer in some principal places, where many are gathered together to supply the defects that are committed by private men. And though I am sure the public duty of prayer shall find great acceptance and approbation before so Christian an auditory, yet I confess I have heard abroad that the service of Cathedral Churches gives offence to divers for the superexquisite of the music, especially in late years, so that it is not edifying nor intelligible to the hearers. For this objection in part, I will confess it is strong and forcible, in part I will mollify it. It is a just complaint, Mr. Speaker, and we humbly desire the assistance of this Honourable House for the reformation of it, that Cathedral music for a great part of it serves rather to tickle the ear, than to affect the heart with godliness; and that which should be intended for devotion, vanisheth away into quavers and air: we heartily wish the amendment of it, and that it were reduced to the form which Athanasius commends,¹ *ut legentibus sint quàm cantantibus familiiores*. But though these fractions and affected exquisiteness be laid aside, yet the solemn praise of God in church music hath ever been accounted pious and laudable, yea, even that which is compounded with some art and elegancy; for S. Paul speaks as if he had newly come from the choir of Asaph,² requiring us to praise God in

¹ S. Augustine says, "the way of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, seems the safer, who, as I have often heard, made the reader chant with so slight a charge of note, that it was more like speaking than singing." (Conf. b. x. ch. xxxiii. § 2.) The corruption of ecclesiastical music is reprehended by John of Salisbury in the time of Henry II. (Gerbert de Cantu, ii. p. 96;) the Council of Trent, Sess. xxiv. c. 12, and the Divines of 1640. (Cardw. Conf. 274.) Hooker calls good chanting a melodious recitation. (Ecc. Pol. b. v. c. xxxviii. § 3.)

² The Levite and chief of the temple fingers, (1 Chron. xxi, 1,)

Previous to the Reformation in 1562 the Lessons were ordered by the rubric to be "sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading."

psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs. Surely he would not have expressed himself in such variety of phrase, I think, if he had not approved variety of music in the service of the LORD. Some will say peradventure, What if this daily duty of making prayers to God were intermitted in cathedral churches, might it not be supplied in other parochial churches? I have but thus much to say to this objection. Prayer is the incense which ascends up to Heaven and brings down God's blessing upon us; for four score and two years without interruption God hath continued true religion among us, and blessed this kingdom with peace and prosperity, and not without the daily assistance of the prayers of cathedral churches. How the LORD will dispose of us if those places be silenced touching the frequency of that holy duty, it is only in the foreknowledge of God, and no man can guess it.

"Secondly, I will proceed to the other wing of the cherubim, the great power of God to work our conversion and salvation, which is preaching; and therein the use and convenience of cathedral and collegiate churches hath been, and we hope may continue so to be very great. May it please you, Mr. Speaker, and this Honourable House, it must be confessed that in the beginning of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, many of our parochial churches were supplied with men of slight and easy parts; but especial care was taken that in our cathedral churches, to which great concourses did resort, men of very able parts were planted to preach both on the LORD's Day and on some week-day, as appears by Dr. Alley,¹ afterwards Bishop of Exeter, who preached such learned sermons in the Church of S. Paul's, that he hath left unto us good matter to collect out of him even

hence called a prophet. (Ibid. xxv. 5; 2 Chron. xxix. 30; xxxv. 15. He wrote Psalms l. lxxiii.—lxxxiii.)

¹ William Alley, S.T.P., born at Great Wycombe, educated at Eton; studied at Oxford, but afterwards Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; one of the Translators of the Pentateuch; Vicar of Whitchurch, 1560; Canon of S. Paul's, 1559; consecrated to Exeter July 14, 1560; died 1570, and is buried at Exeter.

to this day. And give me leave, Mr. Speaker, to take occasion from hence to refel that slander which some have cast out, that lecture-preachers are a new corporation, upstarts, and such other words of obloquy. Sir, this is nothing but ignorance and malice; for as the local Statutes¹ of all, or the most cathedral churches do require lecture-sermons on the week-days, so from the beginning of the Reformation they have been read in them by very able Divines. And it is our humble suit, Mr. Speaker, unto this Honourable House, that if our local statutes have not laid enough upon us in the godly and profitable performance of preaching, that by the assistance of this Honourable House more may be exacted; particularly that two sermons may be preached in every cathedral and collegiate church upon the Lord's Day, and one at the least on the week-days.² Our motion comes from this consideration, that the Divines, for the most part, are studied and able men to perform them; and those churches are usually supplied with large and copious libraries, and the monuments of antiquity, councils, fathers, modern authors, schoolmen, casuists, and many books must be turned over by him that will utter that which should endure the test, and convince gainfayers.

"In the third place, Mr. Speaker, I shall name that whose use and convenience is so nearly and irrefragably

¹ Knight in his life of Colet states that he procured a settlement for ever to found a Lecture, to be read at S. Paul's three days in every week by the Chancellor of the church, or his sufficient deputy. The Lecture was read daily. (Grindal's Life, b. i. c. 6.) The Prelector of Hereford preaches on most Tuesdays in the year. At Chichester there is a Theological Lecturer, who is Prebendary of Wittering. Bishop Gravesend when founding a Divinity Lecture at S. Paul's in 1394, says, in that cathedral exceptionally, in England such lectures had not been given. The Chancellor was the weekly Theological Lecturer in Canon Law at Exeter, founded by Quivil, 1283. (Comp. Acts of Convoc. 1562; Strype's Annals, i. c. 131, p. 350.) At Canterbury there are six Preachers; and in Cathedrals of the new foundation,—Carlisle, Durham, and Peterborough, Divinity Readers were instituted, as at Lichfield and Hereford, on Wednesdays and Fridays. (Whitgift's Life, b. ii. ch. 3, 4; see my Cathedralia, Art. Chancellor.)

² See Cardw. Conf. vii. 274.

concerned by the prosperity of cathedral and collegiate churches, that it is as palpable as if you felt it with your hand, and that is the advancement and encouragement of learning, a benefit of that consideration, that I am assured it doth deeply enter into the thoughts of this Honourable House. And because our years ascend up by degrees, therefore I will follow this speculation through three of those ascensions. First, touching our puny years in grammar schools. Secondly, touching young students in the Universities that enter into their first course of divinity. Thirdly, touching grave Divines of great proficiency, who maintain the cause of true religion by their learned pen. And first, our principal grammar schools in the kingdom are maintained by the charity of those churches, the care and discipline of them is set forward by their oversight, fit masters are provided for them, and their method in teaching frequently examined; and great cause for it, for schoolmasters of late have grown so fanciful, inducing new methods and compendiums of teaching, which tend to nothing but loss of time and ignorance; so that it is not enough to nominate Governors to look unto them once in a twelvemonth or every half year, but there must be care without intermission to see that they swerve not, as likewise for this use, that the most deserving scholars be transplanted to the Universities by their examination and choice; so that these young seminaries of learning depend upon them, and would come to lamentable decay if they had not such Governors.

“For the next rank of young students that are to begin the study of Divinity, it must be confessed by all men that are conversant in the general experience of the world, that they will be far more industrious when they see rewards prepared which may recompense the costs which they put their friends to in their education, and make them some recompense for their great labours. It is represented before them how many tedious days and nights they must devour prolix authors that are set before them, had they not need of encouragement to undergo it? and where

there is not a desirable prize to run for, who will toil himself much to contend for it? Upon the fear and jealousy that these retributions of labour should be taken away from industrious students, the Universities of the realm do feel a languor and a pining away already in both their bodies. In a populous College, I mean Trinity College, in Cambridge, wherein seventy or eighty students were admitted *communibus annis*, I have heard by two witnesses of that Society, that not above six were admitted from Allhalland Day to Easter Eve. Let any man ask the bookfellers of Paul's Churchyard and Little Britain,¹ if their books, (I mean grave and learned authors,) do not lie upon their hand, and are not saleable. There is a timorous imagination abroad, as if we were shutting up learning in a case, and laying it quite aside. Mr. Speaker, if the bare threatening make such a stop in all kind of literature, what would it work if the blow were given? To this end both the Universities have sent up their humble petitions to this Honourable House, which we greatly desire may graciously be admitted.

"The third rank are those that are the chariots and horsemen of Israel, the champions of CHRIST's cause against the adversary by their learned pen. And those that have left us their excellent labours in this kind, excepting some few, have either been the Professors and Commorants in the two Universities, or such as have had preferments in collegiate or cathedral churches, as I am able to show by a catalogue of their names and works. For such, and none but such, are furnished with best opportunity to write books for the defence of our religion. For as in the Universities the society of many learned men may be had for advice and discourse, so when we depart from them to live abroad, we find small academies in the company of many grounded scholars in those foundations; and

¹ Near Christ's Hospital, leading out of Aldersgate Street. Its name is a corruption of Britain Street, from the Duke of Brittany having lived in it. Hutton says, in 1708 many eminent bookfellers lived in it. (ii. 48.)

it is discourse that ripens learning, as the spark of fire is struck out between the flint and the steel. There likewise we have copious and well furnished libraries to peruse learned authors of all kinds, which must be consulted in great causes; and they that have such great business in their heads, it is needful that they have *otium literarium*, a retirement to their studies, before they can bring that forth which will powerfully convince gainfayers.

"In the fourth place, Mr. Speaker, and this Honourable House, I shall allege that which is the genuine and proper use of cathedral churches, and for which they were primarily instituted; that is, that the Deans and Chapters should be the council of the Bishop,¹ to assist him in his jurisdiction and greatest censures, if any thing be amiss either in the doctrine or in the manners of the clergy. Some of our reverend brethren have complained unto you that our Bishops have for many years usurped sole jurisdiction to themselves and to their own consistory, and have refused the Presbyters from concurring with them. I am not he that can assail this objection, nor will I excuse this omission as if it were not contrary to the best antiquity. It is not to be denied that Ignatius, Cyprian, Hierom, Austin, and others have required that some grave and discrete Presbyters should be *senatus episcopi*, and be advisers with him in his consistory.² And as by negligence it hath been refused, so if it be established in the right form again it will give great satisfaction to the Church of God. But it seemeth strange to me that when this reformation is called for, the corporations of Deans and Chapters should be cried down, who were employed in this work by very ancient institution. What canonist is there that doth not refer us unto them for this service ef-

¹ See my *Cathedrality*, art. Chapter. *Presbyteri Senatus Episcopi*. (See Bingham, b. ii. c. xix. § vii. S. Chrys. de Sacerd. l. iii. c. xv.; Apost. Const. l. ii. c. xxxviii.; S. Cyp. Ep. iv. ad Cornel. p. 139; Hieron. in Jes. iii. tom. v. p. 16; S. Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. xiii.; Ed. Cotel. ii. 62; Theod. v. c. iii. p. 202.)

² See Bp. Saye's *Princ. of the Cyprianic Age*, vol. iii. c. iv. Oxford, 1846, and my *English Ordinal*, c. v. pp. 202-216.

pecially? If it be replied that some able and conscionable ministers may be assumed to assist the Bishop in his jurisdiction, and in his ordination out of several parishes in his diocese, I answer, that it is very likely that by this course the sole jurisdiction would fall into the Bishop's hands again; for when ministers shall be called unto this assistance, and have nothing but their travail, and their performance of justice for their labour, they will soon grow weary of it, whereas the Deans and Chapters do owe that duty to this office, that they have rewards for taking that pains, and stand under the forfeiture of their places by the prime intent of their foundations if they be not helpful in it. If therefore we desire that episcopal jurisdiction may be reduced from the sole government of one man to a plurality of assistants, this is the native, the proper, the sure way to bring it to pass.

"The last use of Deans and Chapters touching things of great moment is, that the structures themselves should speak for the structures; not that I would draw your eyes only to behold the goodly fabrics, as the Disciples remembered our SAVIOUR, 'Master, what manner of stones are these?' but to put you in remembrance, Mr. Speaker, that after the first foundations of Christianity were laid in this kingdom, the first monuments of piety that were built in this kingdom were cathedral churches; for parochial churches are their minors and nephews, and succeeded after them. What ill presage therefore were this to religion? I will not utter it, that those churches which were the first harbours of Christian religion, should in this age suffer in those persons who are intrusted with their reparation, and have the care and custody of them.

"And thus, may it please you, Mr. Speaker, and this Honourable House, I have delivered with as much brevity as I could the great use and conveniency of cathedral and collegiate churches in things of great avail and moment; for prayer and preaching, and advancement of learning and ecclesiastical government, and the structures of the churches themselves. Divers persons also I have to name

that are concerned in their welfare ; and I know that the great and honourable justice of this House will take into consideration the condition of the meanest subject of this realm, much more of so many.

“ Because I will ascend up by degrees, let me first offer unto you, Mr. Speaker, the multitudes of officers that have their maintenance, and no other livelihood but by them, some one cathedral church having three hundred persons and more depending upon it,¹ as singing-men, choristers, alms-men, schoolmasters and their scholars, with sundry other ministers that attend the church and the revenues of it, so that the total number will arise to many thousands. And give me leave, I beseech you, to speak thus much for the quire-men and their faculty of music, that they maintain a science which is in no small request with diverse worthy gentlemen. A civil commonwealth delights in softer music than in drums and trumpets. And by the education of choristers from their childhood in that faculty, you have many musicians that come to great perfection in that skill ; few others that prove to be better than minstrels and fiddlers. And those being brought up to no other education, by the dissolution of Deans and Chapters, you shall not only reduce them to the utmost of poverty, but to the greatest snare of the Devil, and the ground wherein he sows the seeds of all temptations to unavoidable idleness, since they are not trained up to any other employment.

“ In the next order, Mr. Speaker, I move this Honourable House to the consideration of the tenants who have prospered better by holding leases from Deans and Chapters, than farmers elsewhere do prosper under other incorporations over all the kingdom. And the tenants are sensible of their own happiness herein, and have testified it from many places by tendering their humble petitions to

¹ Durham had the largest number of members, 139. Upon the whole question of Cathedrals, and the points touched on by Hacket, I must refer the reader to my *Cathedrals*.

this Honourable House, that they may continue, as they have done, under their ancient landlords, which with all submission we must humbly crave may be admitted and perused by this Honourable House. And I cannot blame them to stir in their own case, for good accountants have cast it up, that if all the lands of all cathedral and collegiate churches were cast up into one total sum at a reasonable and fair pennyworth, allowing to the Deans and Chapters what they receive yearly, not only in rents but in fines, the tenants in clear gain do enjoy six parts in seven at the least. And we are not they that grudge them this bargain, but are most willing that our revenues should be dispersed in all the veins of the kingdom.

"Be pleased, Mr. Speaker, to look now upon the cities where these cathedral churches stand, many of them, especially those that are not maritime, are very poor in trade, but are much enriched partly by the hospitality of the clergy, partly because great numbers of the inhabitants are chosen to be the officers of our churches, partly by the frequent resort unto them, especially where there are large and well furnished libraries, the great repositories of learning. These corporations, which are now the strong ribs of the kingdom, will become pensioners and eleemosynaries, fall to irrecoverable decay if the help of Deans and Chapters be subtracted from them.

"But put into the scale with these cities, that respect which is to be had to the young branches of the whole kingdom, and the weight will be very ponderous. All men are not born elder brothers, and all elder brothers are not born to be inheritors of lands. Divers of low degree have generous spirits in them, and would be glad to make themselves a fortune, as the phrase is. What hopes have they to achieve this in a more ready way, than to propose unto themselves to lead a virtuous and industrious life, that they may attain to a share of the endowment of collegiate and cathedral churches? they only are the common possession of the realm, lying open to all that will qualify themselves to get a part in them. They

are not inclosed in private men's estates, but they are the commons of the kingdom.

"With all humble leave, Mr. Speaker, now let us proceed to speak a little for ourselves, in behalf of the clergy. We hear it by such as have travelled in parts beyond the seas, (most of this Honourable House know it to be true that I shall allege in their own experience,) that this kingdom of England, God be praised, affords better livelihood to most degrees and ranks than the neighbour kingdoms do. The knights and esquires live more plentifully than theirs, our yeomanry far more fashionably than their peasants. Then we trust it will not be thought unreasonable that the clergy may in some sort have a better maintenance than in the neighbouring reformed churches. Otherwise we shall become the most vile and contemptible part of the State because of our poverty; and we shall degenerate into such priests as Jeroboam appointed, the refuse and most base of the people, from whom nothing can be expected but ignorance, superstition, and idolatry. Neither is our estate better than all other reformed churches in this case; for I have heard it from them that have diligently travelled over all the reformed Churches in Germany, that the clergy among the Swedes have such collegiate chapters, with means endowed to the use of the government of the Church as we have. And the reformed in France and the Low Countries do sufficiently testify how much they desire that they were partners of the like prosperity, because many of their rarest scholars have found great relief and comfort by being installed Prebendaries in our cathedral and collegiate churches. I will speak but of a few whom myself hath known. In the reign of blessed Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Saravia¹ was maintained in these foundations; in the reign of the most learned King James, Casaubon,² father and son. O the renowned Casaubon, the father, what a miracle of learn-

¹ Canon of Canterbury, 1599. Haisted's Kent, iv. 612.

² Isaac Casaubon, born Feb. 18, 1559, at Geneva; Professor of Greek at Paris, and Canon of Canterbury, 1611; died in England

³ Adrian Saravia, a German by birth, D.D. Oxford, 1590; Master of Southampton School,

ing! Add unto these Dr. Primrose,¹ Mr. Vossius,² and the great honour of the reformed Churches, the most learned Dr. Peter Moulin.³ Concerning whom let me add, with your leave, Mr. Speaker, what he wrote lately to an honourable person out of France, that by reason of great preparations of war in France, he feared it would be dangerous for him to live any longer in Sedan; if troubles increased he would come for England; but if the entrates of his prebend, and what else he enjoyed in this Church were cut off, the whole livelihood of himself, his wife, and children should be taken from him. A pitiful moaning, and to be regarded. But the testimony of an adversary is that which may most lawfully be used to advantage. The greatest enemy and foul-tongued reviler of the reformed Church of England was Sanders,⁴ in his book of the English Schism, as he terms it. Consult him in the 163rd page, as it is in my edition, how he envies us, and snarls at us for our prosperity of those forenamed churches,—he says that the Royal Queen did judge it fit for the glory of her prelacy, for the splendour of her kingdom, for the firmness of her sect, (so he calls our

1614, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (Moreri, ii. 175; Kennet, MS. Lanf. 986, fo. 144; Hafted, iv. 616.) *Class. Journal*. xii. 172

Meric Cafaubon, D.D., his son, born at Geneva, 1599; Student of Christ-Church; Canon of Canterbury; Rector of Bledon; Rector of Ickham; died 1671. (Moreri, ib.; A. O. ii. 353; Walker's Suff. ii. p. 8.)

¹ Gilbert Primrose, of the French Church, London, D.D. Oxon. 1624; Canon of Windsor, July 21, 1628. (Le Neve, iii. p. 400.) Chaplain in Ordinary; died in Chiswell Street, 1648. (Le Neve's Fasti. Ed. Hardy, iii. 402; Wood's Fasti. i. 419.)

² Gerard John Vossius, born near Heidelberg, 1577; Ph.D. Leyden; Rector of the University of Leyden; D.C.L. Oxford, 1629; Canon of Canterbury, 1629; Professor of History at Amsterdam, 1630; died 1649. For a list of his books see Moreri, viii. 175; (Le Neve, iii. 404; Hafted, iv. 620; Wood, A. O. i. Fasti. 265.)

³ Peter du Moulin, S.T.P. Cambridge, 1615; Canon of Canterbury, 1615; Professor at Sedan, and died there 1658. (Hafted, iv. 610; A. O. Fasti. i. 329.) For his works, see Moreri, vi. 486.

⁴ Nicholas Sanders, D.D., Fellow of New College, Oxford, 1548; Professor of Theology at Louvaine. (See my William of Wykeham and his Colleges, p. 400.)

events England in the time of the persecution in France, particularly hearing him send his chaplain to Hafted to make him assist from him, and questioning whether he might be probably seen want, he order him carry some money

Orange II. 173. Williams was his early patron

religion) that in cathedral and collegiate churches she would have Provofts, Deans, Prebendaries, Canons. This was it that troubled him, that he saw these foundations conduced to the stability of religion. So that I judge by his words a fatter sacrifice could not be offered up to such as himself than the extirpation of them.

"I go forward now to that benefit which the King and Commonwealth, taking them *in uno aggregato*, do reap by them. They that think themselves cunning in the King's revenue do inform us, that we do pay greater sums to the exchequer by first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, according to the proportions which we enjoy by them, than any other estates or corporations in the kingdom: beside horse and arms which we find for the defence of the realm against all enemies and invasions. And this we issue forth with most free and contented hearts. Neither would we stop here. We are not ignorant with what continual diligence and study this Honourable House doth forecast to provide great sums of money for two armies, and sundry other great occasions. God forbid but we should have public spirits as well as other men. And if we be called upon to contribute in an extraordinary manner to this great charge of the kingdom which now lies upon it, we shall be ready to do it to the utmost of our ability, yea, and beyond our ability; and if we fail in it, let us be branded with your anger and censures for our sordid covetousness.

"Now we shall come to a high pitch, imploring the ancient and most honourable justice of this House, and for the sake of that famous and ever renowned justice, we hope to find grace in your eyes. We are now by the admittance of your Honours' favour under that roof, where your worthy progenitors gave unto the clergy many charters, privileges, immunities, and enacted those statutes by which we have the free right and liberty in all that we have. We read it in records, that in the beginnings of many Parliaments in the first place, divers favours were conferred upon us, and we believe the subsequent consulta-

tions fared the better for it. Indeed we meet with stories likewise that the Prior aliens¹ are vanished out of England, that the Orders of S. John of Jerusalem, and the Knights Templars were dissolved.² It is true, Mr. Speaker, and they deserved it; their crimes proved manifestly against them were most flagitious, and some of them no less than high treason. God be praised we are not charged, much less convicted of any scandalous faults. And therefore we trust we shall not suffer the like fate, who have not committed the like offences.

"And after our casting ourselves upon your honourable justice, I will lead you to the highest degree of all considerations, to the honour of God. The fabrics that I speak of were erected to His glory, the lands bequeathed to them were dedicated to His worship and service. And to that end I beseech you to let them continue for ever, and to the maintenance of such persons whom their liberality did expressly destine to be relieved by them; and withal I must inform you, and I dare not conceal it from you, it is *tremenda vox* which I shall bring forth, that they have barred all alienation with many curses and imprecations. It is God's own sentence upon the censers, which Core and his complices used in their schism with pretence to do God's service. (Num. xvi. 38.) They offered them before the LORD, therefore they are hallowed. This is not spoken after the way of a Levitical form and nicety, for the using of those censers was anti-Levitical; but this is an absolute theological rule out of the mouth of the LORD, that which is offered unto the LORD is hal-

¹ The alien priories were cells of religious houses in England belonging to foreign monasteries; they were first seized by Edward I., 1285, and again by Edward II.; Edward III. confiscated their estates, 1337-61. In the second year of Henry V. they were dissolved by Act of Parliament, and Henry VI. and Archbishop Chichele endowed their new foundations with their lands. (Mon. Angl. viii. 985.)

² By the Council of Vienne the Templars, founded 1118, were suppressed on charges now believed to have been false. (Emiliaune, p. 278.) The Order of S. John, founded c. 1099, still exists. (Ibid. 277.)

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lowed. Again, Prov. xx. 25, It is a snare to the man that devoureth that which is holy. This is proverbial Divinity, every man's notion, and in every man's mouth, *παροιμία ῥῆμα ἐν τοῖς οἰμοῖς λαλούμενον*, theology preached in every street of the city, and every high way of the field. Let me only add that smart question of S. Paul, Rom ii. 22, Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? I have done, Mr. Speaker, if you will let me add this epiphonema, Upon the ruins of the rewards of learning no structure can be raised up but ignorance; and upon the chaos of ignorance no structure can be built but profaneness and confusion."

In the afternoon it was put to the question, and carried by many votes, that their revenues should not be taken away; yet not long after, in the same Session, after a most unparliamentary manner, they put it to a second vote, and without a second hearing voted the contrary.¹

[19.] And now all things tending to violence, it was no longer safe to debate these things publicly, therefore at his house were held constant meetings of the loyal Clergy, Bishops often, and others, Morton,² Brownrig,³ Holdsworth,⁴ Jeffries,⁵ and many more, who from thence wrote letters all over

¹ Collier says that he produced such an impression, that if the Alienation had then been put to the question, it is thought that it would have gone in the negative by a majority of 120. (Eccles. Hist. viii. 209.) For the reply of Burges, see A. O. iii. 687.

² See p. 43.

³ See p. 33.

⁴ See p. 23.

⁵ John Jeffries, S.T.P., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot; Rector of Old Romney; Vicar of Feverham and Ticehurst; Canon of Canterbury, 1629, he was sequestered for his adherence to the Church of England; died 1658. (Hafted's Kent, iv. 93; Lloyd's Memoirs, 531; Walker's Sufferings, ii. 7; D'Ewes's Autobiography, i. 137, 138, 147, 181, 250; and College Life in the time of James I.)

England to all Divines of learning and reputation, especially of the University of Cambridge, to know how they stood affected; *Quæ vobis mentes, reliæ quæ stare solebant* and to engage them to stand fast in the cause of the King and Church. Amongst others, Dr. Brownrig, having been formerly acquainted, sent to old Mr. Dod¹ the decalogist for his opinion; who answered, That he had been scandalised with the proud and tyrannical practices of the Marian Bishops, but now after more than sixty years' experience of many Protestant Bishops that had been worthy preachers, learned and orthodox writers, great champions for the Protestant cause, he wished all his friends not to be any impediment to them, and exhorted all men not to take up arms against the King, which was his doctrine (he said) upon the Fifth Commandment, and he would never depart from it. Likewise letters were written by them to many foreign Divines to try their affection in that day of need,—Blondel,² Voffius,³ Hornbeck,⁴ and (whom he most condoled) Salmasius,⁵ were sent to in vain, though afterwards that great scholar came off from his rigour, and made ample amends for his error. Voffius con-

¹ John Dod, Author of the Exposition of the Ten Commandments, published at London, 1635, born at Shortlidge, 1550; Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and a noted Puritan; he was silenced by Bishop Bridges and Archbishop Abbot; he died at Faustly, aged 96. (Neal's Puritans, iii. 270.)

² David Blondel, of Chalons, Champagne, a French reformed pastor of Haudan, 1614; the successor of Voffius as Professor of History at Amsterdam, 1650. (Moreri, ii. 306.)

³ See p. 59.

⁴ John Hornbeck, D.D., Professor of Theology at Utrecht, 1644, and Liège, 1654; born at Haarlem 1617; Pastor at Cologne, 1639; died Sept. 1, 1666. (Moreri, iv. 139.)

⁵ Claude Salmasius, born at Saumaise-le-duc, Burgundy, 1588; the successor of Scaliger as Professor of History at Leyden; he was always in controversy. (Ibid. vii. 125.)

(*Innius ap. Ciceron. de Senect. vi. §. 16*

[In Nov. 1642, probably, the Sunday here alluded to] in the
afternoon a disorderly expression happened out of the mouth of Richard
Hobbes, driven over by a zealous in the time of Dissimulation
pulling the 64. Allenist out of the pite, and sending off his
surplus, but by the mediation and help of some good
religious persons the
said free
was appeared
the Allenist
defended
from
danger and
these
translations
fellows
turned out of
the Church.
English
Intelligible
Nov. 1642.]

was thus zealous both in and out of his pulpit in the King's and Church's cause, could not be long permitted to officiate in the City of London. One Sunday, while he was reading the Common Prayer in his church, a soldier of the Earl of Essex came and clapped a pistol to his breast, and commanded him to read no further; the Doctor smiled at his infolency in that sacred place, and not at all terrified, said *be* would do what became a Divine, and he might do what became a soldier; so the tumult for that time was quieted, and the Doctor permitted to proceed.

¹ John Deodatus, born at Lucca, Pastor of Geneva, died 1649. (Hoffman, ii. 42.)

² Hugo Grotius, born at Delft, 1583; Pensionary of Rotterdam, 1613; died at Rostock 1645, buried at Delft.

³ Simon Episcopius, Professor of Theology at Leyden, being the successor of Gomar, born at Amsterdam 1583; Pastor at Amsterdam; at the Hague he declared, 1611, in favour of Arminius, and being deposed, 1618, at the Council of Dort, retired to France; but returning in 1626, he became Minister of Remonstrants at Rotterdam; he died 1643 at Amsterdam. (Hoffman, ii. 97.)

⁴ See p. 44.

⁵ Moses Amyrald, of Salmur, he died 1665. [Hoffman. I. 192.]

[Another instance of his coolness and prudence is related by Bishop Spratt in his discourse to his Clergy, 1695, Hacket having been identified by Granger.¹

It was immediately after the happy Restoration of Charles II., when together with the rights of the Crown and the English liberties, the Church and the liturgy were also newly restored, that a noted ringleader of schism in the former times was to be buried in one of the principal churches of London. The minister of the parish, being a wise and regular Conformist, and he was afterwards an eminent Bishop in our Church, well knew how averse the friends and relations of the deceased had always been to the Common Prayer, which by hearing it so often called a low rudiment, a beggarly element, and carnal ordinance, they were brought to condemn to that degree, that they shunned all occasions of being acquainted with it. Wherefore, in order to the interment of their friend, in some sort, to their satisfaction, yet so as not to betray his own trust, he used this honest method to undeceive them. Before the day appointed for the funeral he was at pains to learn the whole Office of Burial by heart; and then, the time being come, there being a great concourse of men of the same fanatical principles, when the company heard all delivered by him without book, with a free readiness, and profound gravity, and unaffected composure of voice, looks, and gestures, and a very powerful emphasis in every part, (as indeed his talent was excellent that way,) they were strangely surprised and affected, professing that they had never heard a more suitable exhortation, or a more edifying exercise even from the very best and most precious men of their own per-

¹ Biogr. Hist. v. 10, 11.

suasion. But they were afterwards much more surprised and confounded, when the same person who had officiated assured the principal men among them, that not one period of all he had spoken was his own; and convinced them by ocular demonstration how all was taken word for word out of the very office ordained for that purpose in the poor contemptible Book of Common Prayer.

In 1655 Dr. Bull, afterwards Bishop of S. David's, then Vicar of S. George's, Bristol, learned the Baptismal Service by heart for a similar purpose.¹

[20.] But the war being begun, and all things in confusion, the orthodox and loyal Clergy were every where articulated against, and ejected, committed to prisons without accommodations, but upon unreasonable payments, such as they were unable to make. In the City of London and parishes adjacent, one hundred and fifteen Parochial Ministers were turned out, besides many hundreds in all counties more than ever had been in all Queen Mary's, Queen Elizabeth's, and King James's, or King Charles's reigns by the Bishops of all sorts. Some few fractious parishioners articulated against him at the Committee of Plunderers, and he was advised by Mr. Selden that it was in vain to make defences, they would never permit him to preach in that public theatre, but he must retire to Cheam, and he would endeavour to keep him quiet there; but thither also the storm followed him, for the Earl of Essex his army being upon their march against the King, took him prisoner away with them, till after some time he was brought before Essex himself and others, who knew him, and had often heard him preach at Whitehall, who made him great proffers if he would turn to their side, which he disdained to accept.

¹ *Life*, p. 34.

They kept on their march, and, as he would say, at length the princes of the people let him go free.

[21.] From that time he lay hid in his little villa, as Gregory the Great did in his little Sazimus,¹ which he would pleasantly call, *Senectutis suæ nidulum*. There he constantly preached every Sunday morning, expounded the Church Catechism every afternoon, read the Common Prayer all Sundays and Holy Days, continued his wonted charity to all poor people that resorted to it upon the week-days in money; besides other relief out of his kitchen, till the Committee of Surrey enjoined him to forbear the use of it by order of Parliament at any time, and his catechising out of it upon Sunday in the afternoon. Yet after this order he ever still kept up the use of it in most parts, never omitting the Creed, LORD's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, Confession and Absolution, and many other particular Collects, and always as soon as the Church Service was done absolved the rest at home, with most earnest prayers for the good success of His Majesty's armies, of which he was ever in great hope, till the tidings came of the most unfortunate battle at Nazby, [June 14, 1645.] He was that morning at an especial friend's house ready to sit down to dinner, but when the news came, he desired leave to retire, went to his chamber, and would not dine, but fasted and prayed, all that day, and then was afraid that excellent King and cause was lost; using to

¹ Saffimas, (Saffum,) a poor suffragan see of Cappadocia, "famed for being the seat of S. Gregory Nazianzen," (Collier's Dict.,) which that Father cordially detested. (Carm. de Vita Sua, vol. ii. p. 7; Greg. Presb. in vita Nazianz. p. 14.) From the Registers I find that the intruded ministers were 1644, Twist, Obad. Sedgwick, and Veare Harcourt; 1647, Nowlton and Devere; 1648, Bowton, and S. Feake; and 1652, Morgan Hopton.

He was sequestered from S. Andrew's, Holborn, on Dec. 13, 1645, and was succeeded by Twist and Sedgwick. (Baker MS. xxvii. 428; Walker's Sufferings. 44.)

say of Cromwell, as the historian of Marius,¹ He led the army, and ambition led him; and therefore looked for nothing but the ruin that came.

He was naturally of a very pleasant and cheerful temper, but sad news made his soul retire a great way further into him, and quite of another humour. Indeed no man was more troubled and anguished in mind for the miseries and distresses of this Church and kingdom; I have often heard his deep sighs, and his great complaints when he did profess he did only breathe, but not live. I have seen the heaviness of his eyes when he spoke nothing, his grave and ripe wisdom made him apprehend fears more deeply than other people did. But when his Majesty's sufferings in person came, no man could conjecture the load of sorrow that was upon him. He would say he felt his old heart wither within him, and could not but sigh away his spirit; he would often repent he had done no more by preaching and writing to prevent it; and after the King's death, frequently desired nothing else but to depart from this world of sin and suffering, crying out, *Satur sum omnium quæ video aut audio.*

But next to the death of his Royal Majesty, he would bewail the cutting up the pleasant vine of the Church of England, and alienating the Church's patrimony, together with those of the King, Queen, loyal nobility, and gentry, whereby the whole kingdom of England was then in the hands of unjust possessors.

For the City's abetting this bloody war, he was now grown to a strong averſation towards London, the place where he was born, baptized, and bred, and nothing could ever move him to go thither

¹ Livy.

more, until the Earls of Holland¹ and Norwich² both requested his assistance at their expected deaths.

The Earl of Holland was very penitent for that he had deserted so good a master in the beginning of the wars. Norwich was very cheerful in the comforts of a good conscience. He would much admire how God sometimes gives secret admonition of things contrary to all human expectations; for the Earl of Holland had many messengers come, and told him they had votes enough and to spare for his life, yet nothing would persuade him but he should die within a few days, and so he did. The Earl of Norwich, that knew of no friends, yet would not believe but he should escape, and so he did.

After this he returned to his rural retirement,³ to

¹ Henry Rich, K.B., K.G., Captain of the King's Guard, and Ambassador in the Marriage Treaty of Charles I.; created Sept. 24, 1624, Earl of Holland; recommended by Charles I., was chosen Chancellor of Cambridge in place of the Duke of Buckingham, 1627, (Fuller, 313;) taken prisoner in an attempt to rescue the King at Kingston, 1648, and being brought to trial, beheaded in Palace Yard, March 9, 1649. (Burke, Ext. Peer. 448; Howell, iv. 1218; Kennet, iii. 191.)

² Sir George Goring, of Hurstpierpoint, created Earl of Norwich, Nov. 8, 1644, he died 1662. For his trial with the Earl of Holland, and reprieve, see Howell's State Trials, iv. 1217.

³ He was deprived of all his preferments with the exception of Cheam. (Godwin, 327; Walker's Suff. p. ii. p. 44.) Several of his letters addressed to Dr. Dillingham, D.D., Fellow of Emmanuel, Rector of Woodhill, Beds. (Wata' Bibl. i. 304,) and dated from Cheam, are in Sloane MS. 1710, fo. 182. On March 22, 1652, he speaks of himself as a "sickly old man;" another is dated March 17, 1653, a third June 6; in a fourth, Oct. 22, he says, "Rev. Episcopus Exon. Brundenchus quinto lapide a villa Chemiana. per aliquot menses tentorium fixit, quicum sapius de rebus optimis confero . . . Etiam in rebus secundis numero quod infra mancipium nostrum per aliquot menses moratus est olim e Collegio Christi apud vos juvenis suavissimis moribus et si ætatem spectes bene doctus, nomen est ei de prunis, vulgata lectio habet Thomas Plume, (his biographer.) Hoc fruisco socio pæne quotidie atque omnigenis confabulationibus nos dilassamus." Another letter is dated Jan. 9, 1653, in which he speaks

Francis

a great
Grecian and
may the
translations
of the Bible
Fuller's Hist.
q. Lamb. 184

(Brownrigg. sup. 33)

end his old age in continual prayer and study, omitting all exercise of body, whereupon he fell into a great fit of sickness; and upon his recovery the famous Dr. Harvey¹ enjoined him two things,—to renew his cheerful conversation, and take moderate walks for exercise, assuring him that in his practice of physic since these times, he observed more people died of grief of mind than of any other disease, and that his studious and sedentary life would contract him frequent sickness, unless he used seasonable exercise. Whereupon afterwards, for his health's sake, he would every morning before he settled to his study take large walks very early to make him expectorate phlegm and other cloudy and fuliginous vapours, whereby he afterwards continued vegete and healthful to the last.

At this time he did much good in the country by keeping many gentlemen firm to the protestant religion, who were much assaulted by lurking priests, who sought to persuade them that it was then neces-

of books and authors; April 6, 1654, is the date of another devoted to the praises of Edward Lively. The last bears the date of June 4, 1656, he thus speaks in it of Usher, whose memory haunted him night and day, "Cui per integros dies in agro nostro Surriensi sæpius affidebam, dum antiqui sæculi phrazeologias enodaret, dum eruditionis abditissima referaret, dum nodos plane gryphios explicaret. Omnem beatissimi senis literariam supellectilem Timotheus Tirellus Eques auratus et gener tanti foci convasavit. Si quis plurimum dabit bibliothecam instructissimam cum intestinis omnibus, auferet. Tria M. minarum Anglicanarum quod audio expectat." He adds that the learned Herbert Thorndike has received for publication the Archbishop's Collections for a History of the Authors of Britain before the Norman Invasion, and a Defence of his Chronicle up to the time of the Judges, and that Dr. Langbaine (Provost of Queen's College, Oxford) had his MS. Collections from the Fathers. (Fo. 195.)

¹ Wm. Harvey, D. Med. Oxford, born at Folkstone, 1578; educated at Canterbury School and Caius College, Cambridge; Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and to James I., and Charles; President of the College of Physicians; the discoverer of the circulation of the blood; died 1657, and is buried at Hampstead.

fary to join with the Roman Church, or else they could be of none, for they saw, (as the others said,) the Protestant¹ Church was quite destroyed. But the good doctor advised them better, that the Church of England was still in being, and not destroyed, rather refined by her sufferings. God then tried us as silver is tried in the hot fire of persecution, which purifies but wastes not. Then especially our Church resembled the Primitive, which grew up in persecutions, and as the earth is said to be the LORD's in all its fulness, (Ps. xxiv. 1,) so the Church of England was the LORD's in all its penury and emptiness.

And in these lowest of times he was full of faith and courage, that himself should still live to see a better world one day, and would greatly blame any of the King's friends who despaired of seeing the time of the restitution of all things. His opinion was the youths at Westminster spun a spider's web that could not last long, and therefore was very confident of his Majesty's return, and would instance in Joseph's case, who was sometime sold for a slave, imprisoned as a malefactor, yet afterwards advanced to be governor of the kingdom; and in David, who was hunted over all the mountains of Israel, yea, and forced to fly his country too, and yet after brought to the throne; and also in Caius Marius, who was forced to hide himself in the flags of a fenny ditch from the pursuers of Sylla, so that the historian asks, "Quis eum fuisse Consulem, aut

¹ It is, perhaps, superfluous to note that in her formularies and Canons, the Church of England has nowhere used this designation, which was merely a political term in the first instance, and adopted at a later period by Presbyterian and Nonconformist communities. The Church of England is a true branch of the Catholic or Universal Church. Hacket disowns the title. (Century, p. 947; see Maitland's Edinb. 371.)

for the original tract. Theobald in their
memorable Answer, said the name of Protestantism
properly belongs to those that profess the Augsburg
Confession. (Cent. 2. vol. 1. p. 232)

futurum crederet?"¹ Who would ever have thought him to have been Consul, or should live to be Consul again? And therefore when any one would say, There is but little hope, he would answer, "Tum votorum locus est, cum nullus est spei."² They ought to pray the more, and prayer was a good reserve at a last cast.

Accordingly he would acknowledge that his many cares for the welfare of the King and Church of England did often send him to his prayers, but gave God thanks that his prayers did always expel his cares. After a day spent in prayer, he would tell an especial friend he found in himself a marvellous illumination and cheerfulness in the evening, and that as usually thick clouds in winter cause dark weather, till they are dissolved in rain or snow, but then the sun would show himself, and the air grow pleasant again; so sorrows and cares cloud the mind and soul, till we are able to dissolve them into devotion and holy prayers, and then *post nubila Phœbus*; and professed nothing more contributed to his divine joys than his often reading and meditation upon David's Psalms, which he conceived they had done very wisely who set them in the midst of the Bible, as the Fourth Commandment for religious assemblies was by God Himself in the midst of the Decalogue.

[22.] In those doleful days that was done in S. Paul's, London,³ which Selymus⁴ threatened to S. Peter's at Rome, to stable his horses in the church, and feed them at the high altar; whereupon our

¹ "Quis crederet jacentem super crepidinem Marium aut fuisse Consulē aut futurum?" (Senecæ Controv. lib. i. c. i.; Tom. iii. p. 77.)

² Seneca. Quoted from Hacket's Century, &c. p. 958. *See*

³ See *Parliamentary History*, 2d ed. p. 863.

⁴ Selim II. Emperor of the Turks, who died 1594. (Meyers, viii.

1594.) Selim I., who died 1519. (Fleurbaey, xvii. l. cxxv. § 95.)

Tindal's Hist. of Ottomans p. 169.

⁵ What for? — the rotting of horses three years together in stalls and pastures? nothing? but observant Christians note that it began upon the jades that were stabled in the goodly Cathedral Church of S. Paul.

They were the Earl of Oxford, Warwick and Alledston, Viscount
 Hereford, Lord Berkeley and Brook for the Lords: Lord Fairfax,
 Falkland, Bruce, Herbert, Brandish, Castleton; Sir D. Holles, H.
 Townsund, J. Cooper, G. Booth, J. Holland and B. Chidmoley further
 Commons.

Doctor was very confident their ruin grew ripe
 apace, and not long after happened the death of
 Oliver; of which being suddenly told, and the man-
 ner of it, he only said, as Tully of a villain, "Mor-
 tem quam non potuit optare obiit;" and that we
 should see within a little while all the world would
 stink of him, and disdain his arbitrary and bloody
 usurpations. And accordingly in a very short time
 we saw all things incline to work about the happy
 revolution, towards the accomplishment whereof no
 man was more active in stirring up the nobility,
 gentry, clergy, and people to desire a free Parlia-
 ment, and petition General Monk to that purpose,
 whereby he should be a Benedictine Monk, or a
 blessing to the nation, and not a Dominican, *domi-
 nari in exercitu*. He preached before the Commis-
 sioners at Croydon,¹ and first read the Common
 Prayer himself to them, at that great meeting for
 the peace of the country. And afterward when
 his Royal Majesty² was restored, he laid aside his
 long antipathy, and came up to London, where
 one going to congratulate his coming thither; so
 (he answered) he did his own, for he hoped in God
 he did not appear as a porpoise only once in twenty
 years before a great storm, but as an halcyon for a
 sign of fair weather; and when he was restored to
 his ancient parish and church again, being one
 day visited by many sequestered and banished
 friends, returned again with himself, whom he
 pleasantly called his Charonitæ,³ a by-name which

¹ ~~The Commission which appointed the Church of England to
 the Great Synod of Oxford (Oxford Church, 1660, p. 111)~~

² He preached before the King in 1660, on Acts xv. 39. The
 Sermon was printed by Plume, p. 683. He was Lent Preacher at
 Whitehall, March 2, 1664. (Kenner's Reg. 368.)

³ Or Orcini, as if Orci liberti, freedmen of the grave. (Hoffman,
 iii. 416.)

The Commission of the Peace and Members of the Commission appointed
 to visit the City of London May 1660, and
 12. The Commission of the Peace and Members of the Commission appointed
 to visit the City of London May 1660, and

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 74

'Such as had been banished their country, in the days of the Dictator and were restored again by the grace of Augustus and Antony were called Chacornike as if they had been wafted back again into this world, when they were quite extinguished' the Romans gave to them who were restored to their possessions and country after they had been proscribed by Sylla; * as if Charon had wafted them over the Lake of Death, and brought them back again; at the same time he gave to God great thanks for the opportunity of meeting them again in that place, and prayed God that they might all take notice, first, of the real faults that brought down the late sad judgments, and be sure to repent of them; and then also secondly, take into consideration the supposed faults or scandals that seemed to do it, and as far as was meet take care likewise to prevent them for the time to come.

He had been installed one of the Residentiaries of S. Paul's Church,¹ a little before the beginning of the civil war, to which he was now restored, whereby he was frequently called to preach there, where he could not spare to tell his countrymen sometimes of their faults, That however his Majesty's most gracious Act of Oblivion had delivered them from all human penalties, yet unless they abhorred those sins so easily forgiven by the most merciful and most courteous King in the world, yet the anger of God would find them out; and though his Majesty had obliged the Royal Party to forget their sufferings, yet the Presbyterians were ever

¹ He, like the Dean and two other residentiaries, Dr. Thomas Turner, and Dr. Edward Layfield, gave £500 towards the rebuilding of S. Paul's, Dec. 1662. (Kennet's Register, 590, 866.) He was installed Prebendary of Mora, in S. Paul's, March 28, 1642, (Kennet, 482,) and was succeeded in that stall in Jan. 1661, but at S. Andrew's not until Jan. 1662. (Newcourt, i. 181, 275; Lansd. MS. 982, fo. 94-6.) The King gave him the prebend on the promotion of Winniffe to the see of Lincoln. Bishop Pritchett of Gloucester succeeded to his stall at S. Paul's, March 28, 1661. (Kennet's Register, iii. 482, 613; Ath. Oxon. iv. 682.) In June, 1661, he was succeeded in his Prebend of Lincoln and Archdeaconry. (Kennet's Reg. 611, 481.)

bound to remember their doings. But his deserts were too eminent and well known to be long in any orb less than the highest in our Church, therefore my Lord Chancellor sent to offer him the Bishopric of Gloucester,¹ which he begged his Majesty's and his Lordship's leave to refuse, answering, (as Cato,) He had rather future times should ask why Dr. Hacket had not a bishopric, than why he had one.

[23.] Afterwards it pleased his Majesty to confer upon him the Bishopric of Lichfield,² and recommend that most ruined cathedral, city, and diocese to his prudent circumspection and government. He first thought that now in his old age the charge was too great for him, but because Cæsar had commanded it, he would resign up himself to his Majesty's commands, and willingly put his neck to the burden of the Chair, and to his best abilities not be wanting in his duty to God and the King. But he found in himself a great reluctance to leave his old people in city and country, he had so long lived there, that now the place was grown natural, and stuck to him like the bark to the tree ;

¹ Godfrey Goodman died 1655, and William Nicholson was consecrated to Gloucester Jan. 13, 1664. Clarendon was the Lord Chancellor.

² The Congé d'Elire dated Nov. 4, 1661, is in Ayscough MS. 856, No. 43. He was elected Dec. 6. (Cal. St. Pap. 171.) The royal assent and confirmation to the see, void by the translation of Bishop Frewen to York is dated Dec. 14, 1661. (Ib. 180.) The profits of the see from Lady Day to Feb. 18, 1662, not paid to Bp. Frewen were given to Hacket. (Calend. of State Papers, Dom. Ser. p. 277.)

"Mr. Baxter, the coryphæus of the Presbyterian party, (it should be Calamy. Sylvester's Life of Baxter, 281, 283,) refusing the see left he in a high manner should displease the brethren, it was offered to Dr. Richard Baylie, President of S. John's College, and Dean of Sarum, who had been a very great sufferer for the King's cause, but he refusing it because Dr. Frewen had skimmed it, it was therefore conferred on Dr. John Hacket." (A. O. iv. 822; Kennet, iii. 272.) Baxter was offered the see of Hereford. (Collier, viii. 400.)

"Had Baxter accepted the bishoprick of Coventry and Lichfield, he might as easily have had £20,000 to leave to his family or expend in pious uses as Dr. Hacket had that sum to lay out in repairing or rebuilding his cathedral." (Calamy's Account, i. 55 ;

Nectarius was not baptised when nominated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople 381. he was succeeded at his death by St. John (Life of Bishop Hacket. 397. Moreri. VI. 38.

Lordship gave such suitable returns of affection and civility, that many of the most obstinate opposers of Episcopacy were melted into moderation. There were very near 500 that received Confirmation from his Lordship in one day.^{1]}

The whole Clergy upon this first meeting were of opinion that his Majesty had still the old Apostolical spirit of discerning, having sent to them a Prelate so wise and learned, as they could scarce have wished one altogether so fit for themselves, and it is not to have been doubted, if the sole election had been in themselves, but that the diocese would have chosen him as unanimously as the people of Constantinople did Nectarius,² to whom no man dissented, insomuch that some say the place wherein they held the election was ever after called Concord from the universal approbation of the fact.

It is much to be admired that the people, (who for the most part are none of the best judges,) in those ancient times should oftentimes choose so luckily, who yet sometimes chose men to be Bishops, as S. Ambrose of Milan,³ Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, and Nectarius, an Archbishop at Constantinople, besides others who had scarce received any former orders, and were some of them not well instructed in all parts of Christian religion, nor indeed baptized. S. Hierom, a learned but sharp writer, might well gird at this practice *heri catechumenus, hodie ponti-*

¹ Chronicle, p. 738.

² See Cave's Life of S. Gregory Nazianzen, Sect. vi. § iii., he was a layman. S. Ambrose was only a catechumen. (Ib. i. § iv.) Eusebius of Cæsarea, the predecessor of S. Basil, is another instance of a similar informality. Synesius, the disciple of Hypatia of Alexandria, and a Platonist, whilst only a Deacon, was elected Bishop of Ptolemais in 410. (Moreri, viii. 424; Theod. I. 5. c. 9; Damasc. de Imag. I. 3. p. 191.)

³ Paulinus in vita Ambr. p. 7. V. Prefat. Dr. Fell. in Vita Nemesii [90. Ox. 1671. p. 5 qui neverint quales eo ipso in seculo fuerunt Ambrosius, Nectarius et Synesius cum ad sedes suas promoverentur.]

Heylin's Hist. of
Presb. l. xi
§ 24.

fox;¹ but against our Bishop there lay no such exceptions, who would sometimes rejoice, like Gregory Nazianzen, that he had not been made a Bishop before long labour, and much pains spent in preaching and converting others to the Christian faith, and gave God thanks he had run through all the lesser offices, had been long Scholar and Fellow of a College, then been made Deacon, Priest, Chaplain, which was equal to Curate, and sometime Vicar of a poor place, afterwards Parson, Doctor, Prebendary, Archdeacon, and Residentiary of S. Paul's, and had discharged all these with great pains in his own person in the heat of the day, both in time of peace and persecution, so that he did not leap, but by his merits orderly arise to his episcopal honour and dignity.

[24.] The City of Lichfield has its name from the old Saxon *Lice*, or Carcase, because of the great multitude of Christians thereabouts slain in the Persecution of Dioclesian, which are in the arms of the city to this day. Therein before the wars had been a most beautiful and comely Cathedral Church, which the Bishop at his first coming found most desolate and ruined almost to the ground, the roof of stone, the timber, lead and iron, glass, stalls, organs, utensils of rich value, all were embezzled,² 2000 shot of great ordnance and 1500 grenadoes discharged against it, which had quite battered down the spire and most of the fabric, so that the old man

¹ Ep. ad Ocean. (lxi. § 9. Ed. Migne, i. 663.)

² The stalls valued at £600, the organ at £200, the exquisite tomb of Lord Paget, executed in Italy at a cost of £700, all the plate seized by Colonel Russell, many records, the famous Jesus Bell, and the removal of all the lead from the roofs (Harwood's Lichf. 49) must be taken into account. Archbishop Laud in his diary says, "March 2, 1642, S. Cedd's Day. The Lord Brooke shot in the left eye, and killed in the place at Lichfield, going to give the onset upon the close

took not so much comfort in his new promotion, as he found sorrow and pity in himself to see his Cathedral Church thus lying in the dust; so that the very next morning after his Lordship's arrival, he set his own coach-horses on work, together with other teams to carry away the rubbish; which being cleared, he procured artificers of all sorts to begin the new pile, and before his death set up a complete Church again, better than ever it was before: the whole roof from one end to the other, of a vast length, all repaired with stone, all laid with goodly timber of our Royal Sovereign's gift, all leaved from one end to the other, to the cost of above £20,000, which yet this zealous and laborious Bishop accomplished a great part out of his own bounty, with £1,000 help of the Dean and Chapter, and the rest procured by him from worthy benefactors, by incessant importunity, the gentry of Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire contributing like gentlemen, whose names are entered into the registry of the Cathedral;¹ unto which work

of the Church, he having ever been fierce against Bishops and cathedrals, his beaver up, and armed to the knees, so that a musket at that distance could have done him but little harm. Thus was his eye put out who about two years since had said he hoped to live to see at S. Paul's not one stone left upon another." (iii. 249, 241; Kennet, iii. 120.)

¹ Printed in Harwood's Lichfield, pp. 59-64. The Bishop gave £1683. 10s. His Letter to the Diocese and others throughout England is in Harwood's Lichfield, p. 57. His Letter to Sir Henry Puckering, Feb. 3, 1662, occurs in Harl. MS. 7001, fo. 248, and is signed by W. Paul, Dean, Gabriel Higgins, P. Ck., Richard Harrison, Chancellor, and Thomas Browne, Canon Residentiary, asking for his contribution to the works; the treasurers being Mr. Henry Archbold and Mr. Jeffrey Glasier, of the Close of Lichfield. Hacket begs him to imitate the example of the other gentry, and pay in April or May, when the charges would be particularly heavy. Over the old stalls the names of the donors were put up in letters of gold; that of Andreas Hacket Armiger F(ieri) F(ecit), is over Bobenhall. (B. Willis, iii. 375-6.) An idea of the state of the Cathedral is suggested

none were backward but the Presbyterians, whom our reverend Bishop yet treated with more civility than their crossgrained humours deserved.

This rare building was finished in eight years, to the admiration of all the country, the same hands which laid the foundation laying the top-stone also. All which owes itself to his great fidelity, incredible prudence in contriving, bargaining with workmen, unspeakable diligence in soliciting for money, paying it, and overseeing all. Nehemiah's eye was ever upon the building of the Temple, and therefore the work proceeded with incredible expedition. The Cathedral being so well finished, upon Christmas Eve, 1669, his Lordship dedicated it to CHRIST's honour and service with all fitting solemnity that he could pick out of ancient Rituals, in the manner following.

[25.] His Lordship being arrayed in his episcopal habiliments, and attended upon by several prebends and officers of the Church, and also accompanied with many knights and gentlemen, as likewise with the Bailiffs and Aldermen of the city of Lichfield, with a great multitude of other people entered at

by Ashmole's Letters among his Collections at Oxford, June 16, 1660. "This morning Mr. Rawlins, of Lichfield, told me that the Clerks Vicars of the Cathedral had entered the Chapterhouse, and there said Service, and this with the Vestry were the only places in the church that had a roof to shelter them." The scene is reproduced in a medallion of incised marble about three feet in diameter, and in the 4th lesser medallion of the new pavement, the subject is Bishop Hacket re-dedicating the Cathedral, and in the 3rd compartment, Bishop Langton, founder of the Lady Chapel. "July 18, 1660, Mr. Dugdale moved Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, to become an instrument for the repair, and proposed that the prebendaries, &c., that were admitted, should part with one half of their profits towards the repair of the fabric, which would be no great burden to them, and by this example the gentry would be invited to join with them in some considerable contributions." In these Collections is a view of the Cathedral in its dismantled condition.

the west door of the Church, Humphrey Perfe-houfe, Gentleman, his Lordship's Apparitor General, going foremost, after whom followed the finging boys and chorifters, and all others belonging to the Choir of the faid Church, who firft marched up the fouth aifle on the right hand of the faid Church, where my Lord Bifhop with a loud voice repeated the firft verfe of the 24th Pfalm, and afterwards the Choir alternately fung the whole Pfalm to the organ. Then in the fame order they marched to the north aifle of the faid Church, where the Bifhop in like manner began the firft verfe of the 100th Pfalm, which was afterwards alfo fung out by the company. Then all marched to the upper part of the body of the Church, where the Bifhop in like manner began the 102nd Pfalm, which likewise the Choir finifhed. Then my Lord Bifhop commanded the doors of the choir to be opened, and in like manner firft encompassed it upon the fouth fide, where the Bifhop alfo firft began to fing the firft verfe of the 122nd Pfalm, the company finifhing the reft. And with the like ceremony paffing to the north fide thereof, fung the 132nd Pfalm in like manner.

This proceffion being ended, the Reverend Bifhop came to the faldiftory¹ in the middle of the choir, and having firft upon his knees prayed privately to himfelf, afterwards with a loud voice in the Englifh tongue called upon the people to kneel down and pray after him, faying,

Our FATHER which art, &c.

O LORD GOD, infinite in power, and incomprehenfible in all goodnefs and mercy, we befeech Thee to hear our prayers for Thy gracious affiftance upon the great occa-

¹ The ~~feldy, or felding~~ Litany desk, fuch as may be feen in the frontifpiece of Bifhop Sparrow's Rationale ~~is now~~ *called a faldiftory, which was the armed chair ufed by a biftop.*

sion of this day. This sacred house dedicated of old time to Thine honour, hath been greatly polluted by the long sieges and dreadful wars of most profane and disloyal rebels; Thine holy temple have they defiled, and made it an heap of rubbish and stones; yea they did pollute it with much blood, in all manner of hostility and cruelty. We beseech Thee, good FATHER, upon our devout and earnest prayers, to restore it this day to the use of Thy sacred worship, and make us not obnoxious to the guilt of their sins, who did so heinously dishonour this place which was set apart for Thy glory. Thou art the God of peace, of meekness and gentleness, and wouldest not let Thy servant David build a temple to Thee, because his hands were stained with the blood of war, we beseech Thee that this Thy sanctuary, having long continued under much pollution, may be reconciled to Thee, and from henceforth and for ever be acceptable unto Thee, and that the spots of all blood, profaneness, and sacrilege may be washed out by Thy pardon and forgiveness, and that we, and all Thy faithful servants that shall succeed us in any religious office in this place, may be defended for ever from our enemies, and serve Thee always with thankful hearts and quiet minds, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Almighty LORD, the restorer and preserver of all that is called Thine, since this Cathedral Church is once again made fit for Thy service, and reconciled to Thy worship and honour, preserve it henceforth and for ever, that it may never, even to the second coming of JESUS CHRIST, suffer the like devastation again, that beset it by the impiety and disloyalty of a long and most pernicious rebellion. Save it from the power of violent men, that such as are enemies to Thy Name, and to the beauty of holiness may never prevail to defile it, or erase it. Confound those ungodly ones that shall say of it, Down with it even to the ground. Let the true Protestant religion be celebrated in it as long as the sun and moon endure. And we implore Thee with confidence of Thy love, and with all vehemency of zeal, that Thy heavenly Spirit may fill

*add from back of the
note at p. 142*

Thy hallowed temple with Thy grace and heavenly benediction. Hear the faithful prayers which Thy congregation of saints shall daily pour out here unto Thee; and accept their sorrowful contritions in fastings and humiliations; and in the days of joyful thanksgivings, let their spiritual and gladſome offerings aſcend up unto Thee and be noted in Thy book. Receive all thoſe into the congregation of CHRIST's flock, with the pardon of their ſins, and the efficacy of Thy Spirit, to ſuppreſs the dominion of ſin in them that ſhall here be preſented to be baptized. Let the bones of them that have been, or ſhall be interred here reſt in peace until a joyful reſurrection. Let heavenly goodneſs be on all thoſe that ſhall here be wedded in lawful matrimony, remembering it is the myſtery of CHRIST and His Church made one with Him. O let the moſt Divine Sacrament of CHRIST's Body broken, and His Blood ſhed for us, be the ſavour of life unto all that receive it. Sanctify to holy calling ſuch as ſhall be ordained Priests and Deacons by impoſition of hands. And we heartily pray that Thy Word preached within theſe walls, may be delivered with that truth, ſincerity, zeal, and efficacy, that it may reclaim the ungodly, confirm the righteous, and draw many to ſalvation; through Jeſus CHRIST, &c.

Bleſſed and immortal LORD, Who ſtirreſt up the hearts of Thy faithful people to do unto Thee true and laudable ſervice, we magnify Thy grace, and the inward working of Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon the heart of our gracious Sovereign Lord King CHARLES, his Highneſs James Duke of York, and his moſt religious Ducheſs, and all Dukes, Ducheſſes, Nobles, and Peers of this realm, with our moſt gracious Metropolitan, and all Biſhops, and others of the holy orders of the Clergy, all baronets, knights and gentry, ladies and devout perſons of that ſex, and for all the gentry and godly commonalty, for all cities, boroughs, towns, and villages who have bountifully contributed to re-edify and repair this ancient and beautiful cathedral, which was almoſt demolished by ſons of Belial. But theſe

Thy large-hearted and bountiful servants have raised up this holy place to its former beauty and comeliness again. LORD, recompense them all sevenfold into their bosom. As they have bestowed their temporal things willingly and largely upon this holy place, so recompense them with eternal things, and with increase of earthly abundance, as Thou knowest to be most expedient for them. Let the generation of the faithful be blessed, and let their memories be precious to all posterity. O LORD, this is Thy Tabernacle, it is Thy House,¹ and not man's, perfect it, we beseech Thee, in that which is wanting to accomplish it. And for all those Thy choice servants, whose charitable hands have given their oblation to raise up again this sacred habitation, which was pulled down by impious hands, give them all Thine eternal kingdom for their habitation. Amen.

O Thou Holy One, Who dwellest in the highest Heavens, and lookest down upon all Thy servants, and considerest the condition of all men, now we have begun to speak to our LORD GOD, who are but dust and ashes, permit us to continue our prayers for the soul's health, and external prosperity of all those that are concerned in this place. Be favourable and merciful to the Most Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, our most munificent benefactor, under whose government we reap much peace, good order, and happiness. O LORD, be merciful to me Thy servant, the most unworthy of them that wear a linen ephod, yet by Thy

¹ "It is a mournful sight, methinks, to me to see any place excel the Church in pre-eminence and magnificence, not as I thought the LORD did favour us for fair walls and roofs without a fair inside, but first it signifies the almightiness of God when we honour Him with the chiefest and best of all outward things; and secondly, it makes our zeal shine before men, that we love our Heavenly FATHER better than all the wealth of the earth." (Century, &c., 453.) Churches and Oratories here below, which are the nether courts of His Sanctuary, should never be defaced in this world by any arm of flesh, till the whole earth shall pass away, and God's own finger deface those monuments of glory. (P. 498.)

providence and his Majesty's favour, the Bishop of this Church, and of the Diocese to which it belongs. Be a loving God to the Dean, Archdeacons, Canon Residentiaries, Prebendaries, Vicars Choral, and to all that belong to this Christian foundation. Bless them that live and are encompassed in the close and ground of this Cathedral. Pour down the plentiful showers of Thy bounteous goodness upon this neighbour city of Lichfield, the Bailiffs, Sheriff, Aldermen, all the Magistrates, and all the inhabitants thereof. LORD, we extend our petitions further, that Thou wilt please to bless all that pertain to this large diocese, for all the Clergy of it, that they may be godly examples to their flock, that they may attend to prayer, to preaching, and to administer Thy Holy Sacraments, and diligently to do all duties to those under their charge that are in health or sickness. O LORD, multiply Thy blessings upon all Christian people in the several shires and districts belonging to the government of this bishopric, and keep us all, O LORD, in faith and obedience to Thee, in loyalty to our Sovereign, and charity one toward another, in submission to the good and orderly discipline of the Church. And save us from heresies, schisms, fanatical separations, and all scandals against the Gospel. And guide us all to live as becometh us in the true Communion of Saints. Grant all this, O LORD, for JESUS CHRIST His sake; to Whom with Thee and Thy HOLY SPIRIT, be ascribed and given, &c.

Prevent us, O LORD, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favour, and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy holy Name, and finally by Thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Then the Bishop pronounced a solemn blessing upon the whole administration performed, and upon all that were present.

Then followed the Service of Morning Prayer

for that day, two especial anthems in extraordinary being added. Provision was made instantly for alms to the poor.

And in a very stately gallery which the Bishop erected in the house where he lived, his Lordship annexed to the precedent solemnity a feast for three days.

First to feast all that belonged to the choir and the church, together with the Proctors and other officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

On a second day, to remember God's great goodness in the restoration and reconciliation of the Church, he feasted the Bailiffs, Sheriff, and all the Aldermen of the city of Lichfield.

On a third day, to the same purpose, in the same place, he feasted all the gentry, male and female, of the close and city.

[26.] He would often afterwards give God thanks, Who had accepted him as an unworthy instrument to build Him an house, that what he could not accomplish at Holborn in his younger years, when he was more able to take pains, yet He had now enabled him to do in his old age, and far worse times; when he found by experience, the wars had exhausted not only the wealth but the piety of the nation, and that it was far easier under Charles the First his reign to raise an hundred pounds to pious uses than now ten pounds. So some observe that in the Primitive Church charity ebbed lower and lower till the stream quite dried up; the first examples thereof were most bountiful, to provoke the liberality of following ages; Barnabas gave all his possessions, and so did many others; Ananias divided half, or thereabouts; but the next age minced it to a considerable legacy, and then it fell to charity in small money, afterwards to good words only, as S. James says, and I pray be comforted; *sed ecquid*

*tinnit Dolabella?*¹ seldom one cross or coin dropped from them. The like he observed in our own Church in the ages past and present; when Christianity was first planted among us, our glorious founders built Colleges and Cathedral Churches; the next rank of benefactors endowed schools and parishes; after ages gave plate to the Communion, bells to the steeples, costly vestures to the Minister; now it is come to this pass, some great man will be content to set up a new pew for his own use, but stick at all other new building, and sometimes at the mending and repair of what was built formerly, and after a while perhaps they will do just nothing, and

¹ "Si quid Dolabella tinniat." (Cicero ad Attic. xiv. 21.)

Bishop Hacket commenced another work of great importance whilst the walls were rising,—the restoration of the ancient discipline by the issue of Statutes. The work he committed to certain Canons best fitted for it, directing them diligently to search and inquire into the old Statutes, to remove all those portions which were not suited to the principles of the Reformed Church, to retain all that was convenient and appropriate, and make such additions as should appear desirable to improve the government and constitution of the Cathedral. After some years the work was entrusted to his Chaplain, Henry Grefwold, Rector of Solihull, and Præcentor, 1666–1700, who completed it. The Bishop at his septennial visitation submitted the body of Statutes to the consideration of the Dean and Chapter; and had received their acquiescence in its adoption, which was only deferred by the death of that "beatæ memoriæ dignissimo præfule," as his successor, Bishop Lloyd, calls him. They consist of ten chapters, and were confirmed Feb. 23, 1693. (Appendix to First Report of the Cathedral Commissioners, 1854, pp. 21–42.)

Harwood says, "The revenue is now reduced in consequence of the alienation of some of the manors to £559. 17s. 3d." And in 1534 it was valued at £756.

The sale of the lands, &c., including Coventry Palace, 1647–50, produced £28462. 15s. 4d. The impropriations were granted away without any formal or particular sale; for a list of these manors see B. Willis, iii. 381–2. Chester Place without the bars of the new Temple, was conveyed by Act of Parliament 31 Hen. VIII. to Lord Hertford. Bishop Lloyd first rendered Eccleshall habitable after the Restoration. The present palace was built at Lichfield, 1687, by Bishop Wood, (Harwood, 290,) it has seldom been honoured even with an occasional residence by the Bishop.

new from
note 126

then it is time sure for the Gospel to seek out better people who will bring forth more fruit.

[27.] Two things the Bishop used greatly to bewail in his Diocese; First the great loss and spoil of the ancient demeans of the Bishopric, having had many manors torn from it in the time of Edward VI., besides an ancient episcopal house in London, to entertain the Bishops when they came up to Parliament, pulled down, with others, by the Duke of Somerset, to make room for the building of his new house in the Strand; and his Palace at Lichfield, and Castle of Ecclethall likewise were quite demolished by the late wars, so that the good Bishop was fain to lie in a prebendal house, upon which he laid out £1000 to make it fitting for his residence, and thought to have procured an Act of Parliament to have annexed it to the see for ever; but till he had finished God's House he less regarded his own. The ancient Bishops of this see, and of all others, were famous for the breeding up many young scholars and gentlemen to piety and learning in their own families, as one (that is best able) tells us, that Bishops' families were schools of gravity and wisdom, to breed Divines and gentlemen civilly before they were transferred to noblemen's and king's houses,¹ and were as requisite after scholars came from the Universities to adapt them to business and public charge, as the Universities themselves were for the ripening of such as were raw before. But our Bishop would complain, though he had means enough left for himself and other ordinary uses, yet the curtailed revenues of his bishopric, *reliquiæ Danaum ac immitis Achilli*,² were no way proportionable for this great expense.

¹ Hooker, Eccl. Pol. l. 5, § 81.

² Virg. "Reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli." *Æn.* i. 30.

Secondly, far more than this loss to his own see he would bewail the sacrilege committed upon very many poor vicarages under his jurisdiction in that diocese, some great persons to whom God had given many lordships, yet would not allow their poor Vicars a competency of glebe and tithes to reside upon, and watch over their tenants' souls in the country, nor wherewithal to buy books and become learned men, nor indeed tolerable preachers. Till better provision was made in this kind, he never hoped to see Christian religion flourish in the remote parts of his diocese, and therefore earnestly desired that future Parliaments would take this greatest grievance into their Christian consideration, and cause the joyful jubilee to be proclaimed, when these revenues should return to their right owners, or at least in this flourishing kingdom, where all others possess great inheritance, country Divines alone might not have a scanty patrimony, and till that were done, he had just cause to fear that sacrilege was the sin of the Reformed Churches, and as the Papacy was much to blame to endure no Reformation in the Church because of their covetousness, so many Protestants were more to blame who reformed, not out of conscience, but covetousness; whereby all Church means were of more uncertain tenure now-a-days than any other private estate; for whereas every mechanic could leave an inheritance secure to his own children, only the public charities bequeathed to pious uses were in danger of being taken away.

[28.] His Lordship would sometimes pleasantly compare our times with theirs of the Old Testament, when there was laid up in the ark for greater security, Aaron's rod, the pot of manna, and the two Tables of the Law; but we read that all was

loft but the Tables of the Law, (1 Kings viii. 9;) in like manner now fome men steal away our discipline, Aaron's rod; others steal away our golden pot of manna, the tithe of the Church; and if they had loved the Law or Commandments, they had stole them away too. *Sed tu quod facias hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.*¹ But that this should be done by Protestants troubled our Bishop exceedingly, who would much commend Archbishop Cranmer for opposing King Henry VIII. his alienation of Abbey Lands from uses of piety and charity;² and Peter Martyr³ much more when he left the Monastery,⁴ would not carry away the least thing from it, but restored a ring belonging to the house (the Seal of the Abbot), which he was wont to wear formerly; and wished all Protestant Ministers oftentimes to preach upon this theme, not out of charity to themselves, but the souls of their hearers; not so much to prevent their own poverty and hard fortune for a little time, as the others' condemnation and endless sorrow for ever.

[29.] No Bishop ever more desired to have his Clergy pious and learned,⁵ that they who were sent to reprove the faults of others might be without offence themselves; but he despaired of such as long as the vicarages of his diocese were so exceeding low, where wit and poverty often meeting together,

¹ Mart. "Sed quod tu facias, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet." (Epir. lib. i. xiv.)

² Melch. Adam in vita. Melchior Adam, of Silesia, wrote *Vitzæ Theologicæ*, 1618. (Walchius, iii. 488; Hoffman, iii. p. 115.)

³ Peter Martyr, born at Florence 1500, an Augustinian, became a Reformer; Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1549, and Canon of Christ Church, 1550; but left England for Zurich, where he died, 1562.

⁴ Melch. Adam in vita. p. 35.

⁵ Fuller says in his History of Cambridge, "Besides many worthies still alive, John Hacket, D.D., whose forwardness in furthering these my studies, I can only deserve with my prayers." (P. 238.)

⁶ "My worthy friend the learned Dr. John Hacket." (Fuller's *orthics*, iii. 92.)

See Epist. xlv. 20: Comp. S. Hier. ad Eustochium Viri fugi,
 quibus fœminis erant. Platina de anacleti Romano Pontifice refert
 quod statuerit ne clerici cenam natiarent. "ne clerici
 cenam nutriat. [11. Conc. Carth. c. xlv.] Life of Bishop Hacket.
 The council of the region

the archdeacon did not always make honest men; yet for his own
 to clip the part he was very careful in all his Ordinations to
 clerks' hair allow none without sufficient testimony, and to ex-
 if it was too amine all himself in Latin or in English, as they liked
 Cong. [c. xx.] best, that he might better know the state of his
 See Hoxb. m. Clergy, where he would not spare to reprove what-
 de Orig. Mon. soever he found amiss in any sort, their very air and
 c. iii. p. 125 habit itself, which he always required to be grave
 Excerpts of and modest, becoming Divines, the Ambassadors of
 Baginight: CHRIST, and not like Russians and the woers of
 740. c. 152. Penelope.¹ To that purpose under his Signification
 67. Paper for Orders upon the Cathedral door was
 sometimes also written,—

"Nemo accedat petitem sacros Ordines cum longâ cæsarie." X

Whenever he found a learned modest scholar pre-
 sented to him, he would bid him very welcome;
 yet after long wars, where the Universities could
 not be attended, and Church means commonly were
 seized upon, he would not refuse any tolerable
 competency of learning, if he found it accompanied
 with discretion and gravity. Sometimes he would
 note how he had heard in our troublesome times, that
 the Presbyterians were so strict in their usurped or-
 dinations and trials of ministers, that he believed in
 his conscience, he should not have been able to
 have passed them himself, if he had been bound to
 appear before them; but in all his diocese he found
 none greater dunces than such as had been of their
 stamp formerly, several of whom craved to receive
 Orders from him, and though he could not endure
 to have the Ark of GOD drawn by meagre and
 feeble cattle, yet in hope of future improvement
 and better conformity he did admit them. He never
 cared to have any presented to him very young, till

¹ See Homer's Odyssey, b. xx. and xxi.

the heats which boil in the bloods of youth were well scummed off, if not quite boiled away; affirming that a scandalous minister had confiscated his own authority of reprehending that in others which he was guilty of himself, and that the doctrine and discipline of our Church could never have been so contemptible, but for their sakes, who with their ill lives and manners made all the threatenings of Holy Scripture which they preached, and all the censures of the Church which they passed or denounced, ridiculous and insignificant; yet withal his Lordship ever gave the people warning not to despise the chastening of their Mother, (Prov. i. 8); for no man can lightly esteem the power of the keys upon earth, and yet be well prepared in heart to receive the judgment of God in the world to come.

[30.] For better amendment of whatsoever was amiss, his Lordship would, like S. Austin and other ancient Bishops, frequently sit Judge in his Ecclesiastical Courts, and hasten the despatch of all affairs, and especially if there were anything that concerned his Clergy, would always be present at the hearing of those causes, that neither his Clergy nor any by them might be wronged; when he went not in person to the Court, he gave ready access at his own house to all who came to complain, even the meanest people, who were grieved with long and tedious suits, and after hearing what they could say, would sometimes send for the Chancellor and Proctors on both sides, and what he could not redress at home, he would oftentimes go to Court and end there, throwing out many causes that had been long depending for trivial matters, and would not suffer any causes to be entered for defamatory words or trifles without his own knowledge first, to the end they might be composed without much

vexation to the parties ; by this means his Lordship created to himself much trouble, which he valued not, for the great good he did by it ; and though less profit came to the officers of the Court, yet were they also contented, believing God would better bless them for taking only those fees which so conscientious a Judge was willing to allow.

[31.] After Ordination he seldom dismissed any whom he ordained without rare counsel, To remember they were ordained to *cures*, not to *sine-cures*, the cure of souls, the greatest of all others, and with them every day to think of the invaluable dignity and seriousness thereof, and therefore in all their preachings to avoid lightness, *Quia nugæ in ore Sacerdotum sunt blasphemiae* ;¹ as likewise all ridiculous gestures, and loud vociferations, empty affectation of words and phrases without weighty and ponderous sense and significancy, accounting that elegant words without solid matter were but perfumed nonsense, and that there was infinite difference between plainness and rudeness. They had a duty to discharge both to the wise and unwise, and therefore must take care that the learned auditor might still learn somewhat, and the unlearned auditor might understand not only some, but all. His charge was, that in everything we should retain this great principle, to offer to God the very best we have ; whosoever builds God an house, let them build it better than their own, the ornaments thereof should be fairer than our own, our sermons there superior to our ordinary discourses or labours in any other kind, arising not from extemporary fauciness, but our studied and best industry ; and therefore ever warned them, as S. Paul did Timothy, (1 Tim. v. 17,)

¹ S. Bern. "Inter sæculares nugæ nugæ sunt, in ore sacerdotis blasphemiae." (*Serm.* l. ii. de Confid. ad Eugen. Pap.)

though he had the gift of prophesying, still to attend to reading as preaching, and remember S. Paul himself would not preach without books, and therefore caused them to be brought after him in all his travels, and sometimes preached the same thing the next Sabbath day, and therefore probably kept notes. He conceived it small commendations to any to pour out faster than they took in, and that indiligent and over-frequent preaching beyond the preacher's parts, or what the people's needs required, was no advantage to learning or piety, especially in the obvious way of preaching altogether by doctrine, reason and use, which of all expositors of Scripture Musculus first took up, and was one great means to lay the pulpit open to the profanations of the late times, such preaching being oftentimes so poor and easy, that every Justice of the Peace's clerk thought he could perform as well as his minister; whereas a good preacher had need be skilled in the whole encyclopedy of arts and sciences, logic to divide the Word aright, rhetoric to persuade, school divinity to convince gainfayers, knowledge of many tongues to understand originals and learned authors; and above all, he would recommend S. Hierom's counsel, *Discamus in terris quorum scientia nobis perseverabit in cœlis*,¹ for otherwise all kind of learning in a minister, without good example and innocency of life, was but a jewel of gold in a swine's snout.

This was his constant advice to his Clergy at Ordinations and Visitations, which he duly held every third year. Visitation of Churches he would maintain was no *filia noctis*, started up in a night of darkness and Popery, but an Apostolical Institution,

¹ Epist. ad Paulam. "*Discamus in terris quorum scientia nobis perseveret in cœlo.*" (S. Hieron. Paulino, Ep. ciii. c. viii.)

and practised afterwards by all the Primitive Fathers¹ and Bishops. Herein his Lordship would oftentimes be the preacher himself, so that in his first Visitation, 1665,² in his progress in Shropshire, and at Stafford, from the last of May to the 15th of June he preached eight times in the compass of those few days, at Bridgnorth, Salop, Elsmere, Wem, Whitchurch, Drayton, Hodnet, and Stafford; and confirmed above five thousand persons, whom he required not to be tumultuously presented, but with the pre-examination of their several ministers, and was in all places most joyfully received.

So that when he put on his episcopal robes, he put not off his ministerial labours; no man had reason to say, his Majesty by making him Bishop had spoiled a good preacher, as it was said of Friar Giles, that the Pope had marred a painful Clerk by making him a powerful Cardinal; nor was he like Julius III., of whom the historian complains, that he had been formerly a diligent man, but when he came to the Popedom, never minded his study, or the affairs of the Church more.³ Our Bishop on the other side, professed he found as many cares in his Bishop's rochet, as he believed Antigonus did in his royal purple; and if it were not

¹ The Primitive Fathers were Clemens Romanus, Bishop of Rome, died 100, author of Epistles to Corinthians; Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, martyred at Rome 107, author of Epistles; Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, martyred 167, author of an Epistle to Philippians; Justin Martyr, author of Apologies; Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, c. 169, author of a work to Autolycus; Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, 179, author of a work against heresy; Clement of Alexandria, died 220; S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, martyred 258; Origen of Alexandria, died 254; Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocæsarea, author of a brief Exposition of Faith; Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, died 265; Tertullian of Carthage.

² See Kennet, iii. 725.

³ Onuphrius in vita, p. 415; Panvinus, Epitome Pont. Rom. Venet. 1557.

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for the glory of God, and the good of His Church, had rather throw it away than hang it about his shoulders.

[32.] S. Paul very well understood his office when he called it a good work, (1 Tim. iii. 1,) not to be discharged without painful study, often preaching, daily hearing and determining cases of conscience, judging in causes ecclesiastical, repairing or building of Churches. These and so many other things beside he found to do at home, that all absence seemed tedious and intolerable to him abroad, so that he never slept out of his bishopric in many years, nor was willingly absent from his flock but upon extraordinary occasions, as in Parliament, &c., and then would often request my Lord Chamberlain¹ to beg the King's leave to let him go home before the end of the Session, sometimes in frosty winter weather, to be like the good pastor among his sheep, where they might hear his voice at Christmas and the other great Feasts, and accounted silence a woman's virtue, but not a Bishop's, who if sickness and great affairs molested not, was still bound to labour in the Word and doctrine, and held it a mistake to prefer governing before preaching, whereas it was ever contrary, as appeared by 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the Elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine;" and therefore the Bishop always preached, and the Presbyter never before him,² but when deputed or in his absence; so that when he was sometimes told by his friends, that he was now *miles emeritus*,³ and might

¹ Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain, 1666-1701.

² Downname, Bishop of Derry, Def. of the Sermon, l. 3. c. 2, ed. 1611.

³ A veteran who had served his time of military service.

lawfully lay aside his preaching pains in his extreme old age, he would by no means consent, but still lay by his other studies upon Saturday afternoon, and retire to his preaching meditations, and for the most part preached once upon Sunday mornings, both to profit others, and to warm himself. Three Sundays at least every month he would preach up and down his Diocese, and not only in his chief city of Lichfield, or near to his own cathedral, but like to a benign star would irradiate all places within his orb. He would often take coach and go more than seven miles, sometimes nine or ten upon Sunday morning, and yet be at Church before most of the parish, and go home again to dinner, and yet always have the full Service of the Church before sermon, and many times afterwards rectify disorders in churches, and sometimes differences about seats or pews. This custom he continued till he died, often mentioning the words of Bishop Andrews, who was wont to institute all his ministers *in curam meam et tuam*, and therefore thought he must no more hide his talent in a rochet, than they might theirs under a cassock.

Thus was his diligence equal to any of the ancients, and his success answerable, reducing multitudes in all places to piety and conformity with the Church of England, almost like another Gregorius Thaumaturgus,¹ Bishop of Neocæsarea, a great and populous city, who when he came thither found but seventeen Christians, and when he died gave God thanks he left but seventeen Pagans.²

This great success did owe itself not only to his

¹ Gregory Theodorus, born at Neocæsarea, Bishop of that See; the friend of Origen; died soon after 264.

² Baron. 2. See Moreri, iv. 200, and Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 574.

[x. p. 285. 2d. ed. 1660.]

frequent preaching¹ and diligent study, but to his eximious piety and perpetual prayer. Formerly he had taken great pains in the study of antiquity, and for ecclesiastical history especially he was inferior to very few; no man could give a better account of the travels of the Apostles after the Day of Pentecost, and the conversion of the world by the Primitive Christians; and for the history of the Reformation after the second Pentecost, no man I think could give the like narrative, how miraculously in all places it was effected. In our own Church there was nothing whereof he was ignorant, all the Councils and passages of the Reformation from the first beginning or matrix thereof he perfectly understood. But of late years he would say his studies were not to be more wise and learned, but more holy and good, and therefore laid aside polemical Divinity wholly, and his principal study were cases of conscience, Canon Law, and the Liturgies of the ancient Church, in which he was very skilful; yet would often complain, he found this last an unlearned study, and much against his own nature, who was a lover of philology and rationality. But he much wondered that any learned men could, contrary to the practice of the whole Church,² lay

¹ Evelyn, Sept. 26, 1658, merely mentions that he heard him preach at Cheam, (Diary, i. 329,) but Pepys on Whitfun Day, 1662, says he heard "a most excellent sermon" by him on these words, "He that drinketh this water shall never thirst." (Diary, i. 354.) In the Century of Sermons there are fifteen on the Incarnation, six on the Baptism, twenty-one on the Temptation, seven on the Transfiguration, five on the Passion, nine on the Resurrection, five on the Descent of the Holy Ghost, others on Easter Day, the King's Coronation, a Defence of Church Festivals, the Gowrie Conspiracy, &c., they are full of rare quotations, quaint illustrations, sense and learning.

² Ep. ad Protector. ~~There is no such letter in his works, in one dated Sept. 4. 1658, addressed to the Admiral (Works, i. 133) there is no such expression. Oct. 22. 1548. Ed. Amstel. 1667. p. 39~~ Sic

igitur statum esse Catechismum oportet, statum Sacramentorum administrationem. statum item Precum formulam.

aside all use of Liturgies, even against the sense of Calvin himself, who wishes there might be in every Church an uniform Liturgy, (for preservation of unity, and prevention of vainglory, and other inconveniencies,) from which it would be unlawful for ministers to depart; but especially in our Church, where so many young men are ordained, he wondered any wise man would be against a set Liturgy, and refer all the service of GOD to free prayer; and would assert that it was more easy to mar than to mend the Book of Common Prayer, and therefore we ought not to adventure the one for the other; but in regard the Minister of the parish was permitted to compose a prayer of his own before his sermon, he thought no sectary had cause to complain.

[33.] Bidding of prayer¹ before sermon he never practised, and said no more did Dr. Ravis² and Dr.

¹ The Bidding Prayer (from bede, A. S. to pray) was altered to nearly its present form in 1547. (Lathbury's Convoc. c. vi. 128.) Old forms of it occur in Strype's Eccles. Mem. i. Coll. no. 37; Burnet, ii. no. 8, iii. no. 29; Collier, ii. no. 54. The present form was drawn in Canon LV. of 1603. Exceptions were taken to the prayer in 1640, but Laud, fearful of experiments, adhered to the existing form, which was founded on the Injunctions of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth. (Heylin's Laud. 412; Collier, ii. 793.) ~~The passage from S. Ambrose I cannot verify, but S. Chrysostom mentions the use of the formula, εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός. (Hom. post red.) The Apostolical Constitutions enjoin the Apostolical benediction. (Lib. viii. c. v.) Optatus says, Sermons are commenced "à nomine Domini et ejusdem nomine terminantur." (De Sch. Don. l. vii.; Conf. S. Aug. Hom. xli. de Temp.) S. Augustine says, We pray God for ourselves and all His people standing with us in the courts of His House, through JESUS CHRIST, &c. (Serm. cxxi. de Div.; Conf. cii. cxx. de Div.; and Serm. xxx. de Verb. Dom.)~~

² Thomas Ravis, D.D., born at Malden, Surrey; educated at Westminster; Student of Christ Church, 1575; Vicar of Merstham, All Hallows Barking, 1591; Vicar of Ilip, Wittenham, 1598; Bredon, 1605; Canon of Westm. 1592; Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor, 1596; Conf. to Gloucester, 1604; Transf. to London, 1607; died 1609, was buried in S. Paul's. (Walcott's Dioc. of London.)

Irestrange
c. vi. p.
254. etc.
Parker
Sandys
Gardiner
Latimer
Jewel
and
Andrew
used it.
36. 263.

Fletcher,¹ Archbishop Whitgift's Chaplains, afterwards Bishops, who drew up the 55th Canon, whom he knew very well, and often heard preach, and always used a form of their own, and no Bishop's Articles ever examined or found fault with it, and it was certainly used by S. Ambrose in antiquity;[†] and therefore in the Convocation, 1640, it was carried for a form.

[34.] And although it was his mind that all Students were not to be tied up to Canonical hours,² but such only whose devotion need not be interrupted by necessary study and employment; yet he would rarely intermit them himself, unless want of health, or very extraordinary business constrained him.

In a morning he would rarely permit any to visit or disturb him, but held that time was made for GOD, rather than for men, as the historian says of Charles V., "*Manè frequentior cum Deo quàm cum hominibus fermo*;"³ therefore the first thing after his sleep was his private devotion, with reading of the Holy Bible, Psalms, and Chapters, then gentle walking for health, then study, then public prayer, then private prayers again before dinner; presently after dinner to his private prayers again, and then to his

¹ Richard Fletcher, born at Cranbrook; Fellow of Benet College, Cambridge; Vicar of Stortford, 1551; Bradtenham, 1575; Rye, Alderchurch, 1584; Barnack, 1586; Prebendary of S. Paul's, 1572; Lincoln, 1585; Dean of Peterborough, 1583; Chaplain in Ordinary, Lord Almoner, attended Queen Mary of Scots on the scaffold; Conf. Bishop of Bristol, 1589; Transf. to Worcester, 1593; to London, 1594; died 1596, and was buried in S. Paul's. (Walcott's Dioc. of London.)

² The seven hours, Lauds and Matins, Prime, Tierce, Sexts, Nones, Vespers, Compline; Archbishop Laud, Bishop Andrewes, and Bishop Cofins, and others of the period also kept the hours, and compiled devotions for them.

³ Florin. Raimond, l. 1. [*I can discover no such author*]

* Thorndike says the form is extant which St Ambrose used. In the flourishing times of the Church preachers were wont in the beginning of their sermons to commend themselves and their labours before blessing. 1 ch. vii. p.

study, unless ecclesiastical affairs or suitable company prevented him for an hour or so; and of all sorts of prayer, he would especially abound in thanksgiving, using S. Paul's words often, "In every thing give thanks, for this is the will of God," (1 Thes. v. 18,) and wish that our Common Prayer had more forms to that purpose, and would sometimes wonder, that when the world had been so cloyed with religious orders, Predicants,¹ Humiliats,² Oratorians,³ Mendicants,⁴ and many other titles, yet there was never any called Eucharistici, a congregation appointed to give God thanks for all the good things wherewith this world is replenished. In the evening of every day, Recount thy own actions, and the Divine preservations, was his rule to others, and customary to himself; and to pray for the pardon of the one, and praise God for the receipt of the other. And in all his prayers day and night he was a continual solicitor for the peace of the Catholic Church. All his counsels, like Melancthon's, were ever moderate, and he often wished such a form of prayer were composed that all Christians might join in, being a great enemy to sharpness and violence in the matters of religion, and would often use Erasmus's words, "Mihi adeo est invisa discordia, ut veritas displiceat seditiosa."

[35.] After his Majesty's return, and restoration of the Church of England, he prayed for nothing

¹ The Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, founded by S. Dominic of Calahorra, and confirmed by Honorius III., 1216. (Hospinian, vi. 45.)

² "The Humbled," founded 1162 by Guido and some Milanese gentlemen, suppressed by Pope Pius V. for their crimes, 1570. (Emilienne, 113.)

³ Fathers of the Oratory, founded by Philip Neri of Florence, 1550, approved by Paul V., 1613. (Ib. 207.)

⁴ Friars Minors, founded by S. Francis of Assisi, 1206. (Hospin. vi. c. viii.)

more in this world than the downfall of Mahomet, and the resurrection of the Greek Empire and Church again, and would say, he thought in his complexion and religion both, that he was the greatest Anti-Ottoman in Europe; he was extremely afflicted for poor Hungary, the antimurale or bulwark of Christendom in the last invasion, and consequently for the horrible division of Christians through the jugglings of the Papacy, for which reason he could not yet foresee which way possible they should unite under one general, who might be able to put a hook into the jaws of Mahomet, and repulse the grand signior into Arabia again, or to his Scythian cottages; and therefore he never hoped for this happy time till he saw the Papacy fall first, which yet he hoped should never be brought to pass by those infidels, though he was very much affected with the words of Musculus,¹ spoken above a hundred years ago,—“*Ecclesia Sancti Petri sic ædificatur Romæ, ut ad plenum ædificata sit nunquam, citiusque destruenda sit a Turcis, quam ad finem structuræ perducenda a Romanis.*”²

[36.] He took the Pope to be an ill member of Christendom, yet would have no man desire the Devil should pull him down, viz., the Turk; or Goths and Vandals, viz., German Anabaptists and Socinians, for fear the change should be for the worse. The Italians were a civil people, and lovers of learning, the Anabaptists of Germany more ignorant

¹ Wolfgang Musculus, a Protestant Pastor of Germany, born at Dieuze, Lorraine, Sept. 8, 1497. He was at first a Benedictine of Westric, known as the “Lutheran Monk,” but left the Monastery in 1527, and became acquainted with Bucer, and Pastor of Strasburg in 1531; he was also Professor of Theology at Berne, and died August 29, 1563. (Moreri, vi. 505.)

² *Loci Com. de Ecclesia*, p. 299.

and bloody far than they.¹ From this civility of his own temper he did not much love to fix the title of Antichrist upon the Papacy, yet believed that our learned Divines (Mr. Mede and Dr. More especially²) had with that great learning in all kinds so charged this crime upon him, that he admired his champions, who daily scatter books of all other matters, could permit their supreme Pontiff to be so slandered, (if it were not true,) and he thought it frivolous for them to write upon other controversies before they were able to clear themselves before all the world of this capital one, and which being true, concluded all other crimes in it.

Though a reconciliation of all Christians were desirable, yet he held it impossible to be effected as long as the doctrines of their Church's Infallibility and the Pope's Supremacy were so obstinately maintained. The Pope was now become like a blazing star, dreadful to all potentates and rulers; and therefore whereas his two great friends, Bishop Usher and Mr. Mede, out of Apocalyptical principles, were of opinion that there would be a general Apostacy, and Dagon set upon his feet again, he could not believe it. For he never feared Christian

¹ He in his Sermons repudiates "Romish superstition and Anabaptistical and Presbyterian anarchy." (P. 691.)

² *Synopsis Prophetica*.

Bishop Newton says, "Though James I. had written a treatise to prove the Pope Antichrist, yet this doctrine was growing unfashionable during his reign, and more so in that of his son." (*Dissert.* xxii. p. 404.) For Mede's opinions, see his *Works*, b. iii. p. 623, 693.

Joseph Mede, B.D., born at Berden, 1586; Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge; he died there, 1638. His chief work is *Clavis Apocalyptica*.

Henry More, A.M., F.R.S., born at Grantham, 1614; educated at Eton, and Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge; was an eminent Platonist, and wrote the *Key to the Revelation*; he united the most singular credulity with reasoning powers of the highest order; he died 1687. See *Life by Ward* 1710.

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Princes would be so forsaken of their own understandings, and other counsellors, as to resign their own crowns to adorn a foreign mitre; especially when both Mr. Selden¹ and Sir Robert Cotton² had told him, they could show undoubted testimonies, that all the Princes in Christendom envied Henry VIII.'s act in this kind, and would gladly have imitated him if they durst. But this he imputed to *μικροθυλία* or want of magnanimity in them who would not endeavour to recover their own rights, in calling Councils, presenting to Churches, and other flowers of their crowns unjustly detained from them by the See of Rome, and therefore ever prayed the Kings of England might still retain their own just supremacy, without giving up their regalia to any foreign jurisdiction.

He thought the increase of Popery ought to be strictly watched, not only for the perniciousness of the tenets of their heterodox religion in themselves, as being in his opinion idolatrous and favouring of rebellion, but likewise for the cruelty and sanguinary minds of Papists themselves, that whereas all Protestants express a charitable respect towards the souls and bodies of all Papists, abhorring all bloody persecutions of them; on the other side, *designant nos oculis ad*

¹ John Selden, born at Salvington, 1584; educated at Chichester, Hart Hall, Oxford, and the Inner Temple, 1604; M.P. for Oxford University, 1643; Chief Keeper of the Rolls and Records, 1643; the friend of Laud, Sir R. Cotton, and Ben Jonson, who called him "Monarch in Letters;" he died 1654, and was buried in the Temple Church.

² Sir Robert Cotton, Knt., 1611; was elected Fellow of Trinity College in 1608. (Cole MS. 5846, fo. 432.) Born at Denton, 1570; M.P. 1628; the author of many works, but more eminent for his collection of MSS. purchased by Parliament in 1706 for £4,500, to which some of our chief authors have been indebted for materials; he died May 16, 1631, at Westminster, and was buried at Conington.

mortem, Papists ever bear bloody minds towards us, and want nothing but power and opportunity to make as many bonfires in England as they had done formerly; and whereas in their excuse, some say, that the many late treasons against their Princes were but the private acts of some particular Papists, then he wondered no Pope should ever think fit to send out his bull to declare that he abhorred them, or that none of their learned men should print books licensed by authority, wherein they were renounced, which he would have given a great deal of money to read.

[37.] The Bishop was an enemy to all separation from the Church of England, of whatsoever faction or sect. But their hypocrisy he thought superlative that allowed the doctrine, and yet would separate for dislike of the discipline; these men's impudence outwent all preceding histories; and he would challenge any to show him in all antiquity for 1500 years where any Christian withdrew from the Church's Communion, much less rose up against lawful Governors, for the imposition of indifferent matters or ceremonies? though in ancient times they imposed more than we do now. All that were baptized were presented in white garments,¹ which the priest charged them to keep white and undefiled

¹ S. Ambr. l. de Initand. (See Cent. p. 426.) Tert. de Cor. Mil. (c. iii.) "Accepisti post hæc vestimenta candida." (S. Ambr. de his qui init. Myst. c. vii.)

Frequent allusion is made to the white robes which were laid aside on White Sunday, the octave of Easter. (S. Aug. Serm. cccxxii.; S. Jerome, Ep. lvii., lxxviii., cxxviii.; Cyril. Catech. Myst. iv. § 8; Euseb. Vita Const. iv. 62; Socr. H. E. v. 8; Sozomen, H. E. vii. 8; Greg. Nazian. Orat. xxxix.; Palladius, Vit. Chryf. c. ix.; S. Ambr. Expof. Evang. Luc. c. v.; Op. ii. 1643.)

"Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustavimus." (Comp. adv. Marcion. i. c. 14; S. Jerom. con. Lucif. c. iv.; Comment. in Esai. lv. i.; Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. i. c. vi.) The allusion of milk was

to the coming of the LORD; and they used not only the sign of the cross,¹ but *præguſtatio mellis et lactis*, intimating that they were now brought to the Land of Canaan flowing with milk and honey. Standing at prayers² was required upon all LORD's Days between Easter and Whitſuntide, and prayer with their hands extended, after the ſimilitude of a cross, ſometimes, which muſt needs be very tedious; and ſo many other things in S. Auſtine's time, that his complaint is well known, "*Tolerabilior erat Judæorum conditio*;"³ yet no ſeparate Churches were then ſet up for theſe things. Truth is, he thought the permiſſion of conventicles did ſhow great irrefolution and unſatisfaction in the truth, adminiſtered great temptation to ſhopkeepers and ſedentary people to be tainted with errors and novelties, of which the Engliſh temper is too receptive, people being generally vain and whimſically ſceptical, and never to be ſatisfied, like him in the Talmud, that would always be queſtioning why the ſun

to Exod. iii. 8, 17; xxxiii. 3; 1 S. Pet. ii. 2; and of honey, to Pſalm xix. 10; cxix. 103; Rev. x. 9, 10; honey was forbidden in ſacrifices to the Jews.

¹ The Sign of the Cross is mentioned in Conſt. Apoſt. l. iii. c. 17; S. Chryſ. Hom. xlii. in Phil.; S. Cyprian, Ep. l. al. lviii. and de Paſſione Serm.; S. Jerome, Ep. cxlii., and S. Aug. in Pf. cxli. Serm. de temp. 101; and is ordered by the Canon and Rubric of our own Church. Archbiſhop Hutton defended its uſe, (Cardw. Conf. 158,) and the Divines at Hampton Court, 1603, (Ibid. 198-200,) and the Biſhops in their answer, 1661, (Ibid. 350.)

² Standing at Prayer, (S. Mark xi. 25,) at this ſeaſon was ordered by the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, c. xx., and is mentioned by Tertullian de Cor. Mil. c. iii. To prayer with the arms extended, alluſion is made by Origen de Orat. c. xx.; Chryſ. in Pf. cxl.; Euseb. Vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 15.

³ S. Aug. Ep. 119, ad Ja.; "*Ut tolerabilior ſit conditio Judæorum qui etiamſi tempus libertatis non agnoverunt legalibus tamen ſarcinis non humanis præſumptionibus ſubjiciuntur.*" Ep. lv. § 35, vol. i. p. 213; and 86 (al. xxxvi. § 23) ad Caſ. Comp. "the Diſcourſe" in the Weſtmiſter Conference, 1559. (Cardw. 77.)

rose in the east and set in the west ; to whom it was answered, If it should do otherwise he would still complain to know the reason. But above all he held we ought to become wise by former experience, for conventicles in corporations were the seminaries out of which the warriors against the King and the Church came, and therefore would much admire, that if any man coined false money it was counted treason ; if any man cheated a pupil or an orphan he was punished, or if he spread false news he was liable to suffer for it ; but if any man published false Divinity to the damnation of souls, or perverting the minds of people from their obedience to their Governors, there was little or no regard to it. Beside, he had often heard from credible witnesses, it was too usual with the discontented at their meetings to charge the Church of England with those consequences which they did *terminis terminantibus* deny, as the making of indifferent ceremonies to be Sacraments, and in kneeling at Sacrament to worship the Bread ; and thereupon be so furious against that reverent posture, as though kneeling were Popery, and sitting Protestantism, when the Pope himself ever communicates sitting.¹ These things were only spoken to make our Church odious to ignorant people, and being permitted, must needs in time destroy our foundations again, and therefore he wished that as of old, all Kings and other Christians subscribed to the Conciliary Decrees, so now a law might pass that all Justices of Peace should do so in England, and then they would be more careful to punish the depravers of Church orders.

[38.] In matter of Doctrine he embraced no private and singular opinions, as many great men delight to do, *in vetere vid novam semitam quærentes*,

¹ Card. Bona de Rebus Liturg. p. 440. (l. ii. c. xii. Ed. 1672.)

says the Father,¹ but was in all points a perfect Protestant, according to the Articles of the Church of England, always accounting it a spice of pride and vanity to affect singularity in any opinions, or expositions of Scripture without great cause; and withal very dangerous to affect precipices (as goats use) when they may walk in plain paths.

In the *Quinquarticular Controversy*² he was ever very moderate, but being bred under Bishop Davenant,³ and Dr. Ward,⁴ in Cambridge, was addicted to their sentiments. Bishop Usher would say, Davenant understood those Controversies better than ever any man did since S. Austin; but he used to say, he was sure he had three excellent men of his mind in this controversy.⁵ 1. Padre Paulo,⁶ whose Letter is extant to Heinsius, 1604. 2. Thomas Aquinas.⁷ 3. S. Austin. But besides and above them all, he believed in his conscience S. Paul was of the same mind likewise; yet would

¹ S. Hier.

² See Heylin's *Historia Quinquarticularis* on the five controverted points of Arminianism, 4^o Lond. 1660, and Mosheim, ii. 461, Ed. MacLaine, and Hale's *Golden Remains*, or Brandt's *History* of the Reformation in Holland.

³ John Davenant, S.T.P., (*Allport's Life* prefixed to *Davenant on the Colossians*, and *Cassan's Lives*, ii. p. 111,) born in London, 1570; educated at Merchant Taylors' School; Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, 1614; Rector of Leyke, Cottenham, 1620; Treasurer of Salisbury, 1634; sat in the Synod of Dort, 1618, with Bps. Hall and Carleton; conf. to Salisbury Nov. 18, 1621; died April 20, 1641, buried at Salisbury. (*Life* of Williams, p. 63; Kennet *Lanf. MS.* 985, fo. 22.)

⁴ See p. 44.

⁵ Hornb. *Sum. Controv.*

⁶ Paul Sarpi, born 1552 at Venice; Provincial, 1579, and Procurator General of the Order of Servites. De Dominis published his *History* of the Council of Trent as the work of a true Protestant; he died Jan. 14, 1625. (*Moreri*, vii. 112.)

⁷ Thomas Aquinas, born at Acquino, 1227, a Dominican; Doctor of Theology of Paris, 1255; died at Foffi Novi, 1274; canonised July 18, 1323. He has been called the Angelic Doctor.

profess withal, he disliked no Arminian, but such a one as reviled and defamed every one that was not so, and would often commend Arminius himself for his excellent wit and parts, but only tax his want of reading and knowledge in antiquity, and ever held it was the foolishhest thing in the world to say the Arminians were Papists, when so many Dominicans and Janfenists were no Arminians; and so again to say the Anti-Arminians were Puritans,¹ or Presbyterians, when Ward, and Davenant, and Prideaux, and Brownrig were Anti-Arminians, and also stout champions for Episcopacy; and Arminius² himself was ever a Presbyterian; and therefore much commended the moderation of our Church, which made not any of these nice and doubtful opinions the resolved doctrine of the Church; this he judged was the great fault of the Tridentine and late Westminster Assemblies. But our Church was more ingenuous, and left these dark and curious points to

¹ Master Butler, of Cambridge, said a Puritan is a Protestant frayed out of his wits. (Cardw. Conf. 184.)

² In 1618 and 1622, the private opinions of Calvin and Beza on civil government were summarily renounced at Cambridge by Brownrigg in a recantation, (Heywood and Wright, ii. 294,) and the works of Pareus were publicly burned. (Ibid.) Ward in his Letter to Usher, June 14, 1634, (Parr's Usher,) complained of "new heads brought in" unfavourable to Puritanism, and "backed in obnoxious novelties." Arminius held doctrines involving Pelagianism, and his followers degenerated into mere Arminianism. (Thorndike, Epilogue, b. ii. Cov. of Grace, c. xxv. § 18, 19, c. xxvi. § 34; Disc. of Forbearance, c. xix.; True Princ. of Compr. f. ii. xi.)

James Arminius, born at Onde Water in Holland, 1560, studied under Beza at Geneva, and at Basle under Grynæus, and in 1588 became pastor at Amsterdam, where he combated the supralapsarian view of Calvin on the subject of Predestination, and maintained that God had left all men free to apply to themselves the benefits of His grace, which are offered to all who try to make themselves recipients of it. In 1603 he became Professor at Leyden, but his life was shortened by controversy with the Calvinists, and he died Oct. 19, 1609. (Life by Brandt, 1724; Nichols, 1825-8.)

DIVORCE, The case of, and **RE-MARRIAGE** discussed, occasioned by the late Act for the Divorce of Lord Rosse, 12mo, 1777

the several apprehensions of learned men, and extended equal communion to both.

[39.] There is another controversy that hath been much vexed in our times concerning the case of Divorce and Marriage afterwards, in which it is confessed our Bishop did dislike all those Churches or Polities that were facile to allow separation in marriage, and much more marriage after; yet allowed the question was intricate, and such a one as the Pharisees sought to entangle our SAVIOUR withal, and that the Church of England had doctrinally determined neither way, but for practice only judged it better that neither party should marry again after divorce, while the other lived, and therefore in the Canons of Queen Elisabeth, 1597,¹ and in the 107th Canon of King James, 1604, required caution by sufficient sureties to that purpose. He condemned not other Churches that allowed it otherwise, but preferred our own caution before them, and for this he wanted not many more reasons than were wrote in a hasty Letter to a gentleman, his neighbour, and published (without leave) after his death, together with his own Answer; but it is no credit to conquer the dead, says the old proverb.

While living he would urge for the indissolubleness of wedlock, the authority of Divine institution, how GOD was pleased to make them male and female, and first one, and then two out of one, and then again two to become one, by a Divine institution, saying, Whom GOD hath once joined, let no man put asunder. 2. The dignity of marriage, which represents the mystical union that is betwixt CHRIST and His Church, and His union with our human nature, both which are indissoluble and per-

¹ Wilkins' Conc. iv. 394, art. de Sententiis divortii non temere ferendis

2. In Charles Wolsley. The book published at London in 1673 is entitled "Case of Divorce and remarriage thereupon discussed by a rev. Melode of the Church of England, and a private Gentleman"

13th Flackel wrote pp. 51 - 73.

petual. 3. The excellency of that love that one ought to bear to the other in marriage, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, (Gen. ii. 24); therefore it is a stronger relation than between father and son; but the son while the father lives can never cease to be a son, much more while the wife lives can the husband cease to be a husband, προσκολληθήσεται, he shall cleave to his wife, signifying a glutinous conjunction, that will sooner break anywhere than be parted there. 4. The manner of the conjunction, one flesh, that is according to the Hebrew idiom, one man, which supposes the woman to be the body, and the man to be the soul; so that none can part these, but He alone that can part soul and body. 5. And therefore though he conceived Eve did Adam a far greater injury, than when a loathed strumpet does defile the bed of marriage, yet God nor Adam thought of no rupture in the case, but God only pronounced her future sorrow in conception. Indeed Paludanus¹ and Navar,² Roman casuists, maintain if one party be endangered to be drawn into mortal sin by the other, it is sufficient occasion to separate, and therefore probably would have cited Eve into their Courts, and proceeded accordingly against her; but from the beginning it was so. 6. In the New Testament he observed our SAVIOUR's answer seemed strange to His own Disciples, insomuch that they replied "If the case

¹ John van den Broek, Paludanus, Professor of Theology, and Canon of Louvain; died Feb. 20, 1630. (Moreri, vii. 30.) Or Peter de la Palu, Doctor of Theology at Paris; Vicar General of Dominicans; Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1329; Author of a Commentary on the Sentences; died Jan. 31, 1342, at Paris. (Ibid. 29.)

² Martin Alsilcueta of Navarre, born 1490; a Canon Regular, and Professor of Canon Law at Salamanca; died 1586 at Rome. (Moreri, i. 690.)

were so, it were better not to marry at all," which shows how they understood Him. 7. To be sure S. Paul would not allow it in a Bishop, but strictly required him to be the husband of one wife, (1 Tim. iii. 2,) that is, having repudiated one, to take no other without exception of any case. 8. He was sure he had in the New Testament six places of his side to one against him, one only carrying an outward face for it, S. Matt. xix. 9, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another committeth adultery." But S. Matt. v. 32, S. Mark x. 11, S. Luke xvi. 18, all sound another way, "Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery." Rom. vii. 2, "The woman that hath a husband is bound as long as her husband lives." 1 Cor. vii. 10, "Let not the wife depart from her husband, and if she depart let her remain unmarried;" and again the 27th verse, "Art thou bound to a wife, seek not to be loosed." He held it safer to hold with six places than with one. Some only say S. Matthew has that which others have not, and he must expound them; yea, but one Evangelist is not false without the supplement of another, and S. Mark's Gospel was in some places where S. Matthew's was not. 9. This would have given great scandal in the heathen world, who a long time used no divorces; the Romans none for 500 years, Spurius Carbilus Gema¹ was the first that broke the hedge; a great shame for God's people to be

¹ Tert. Apol. c. 6. "Ubi est illa felicitas matrimoniorum de moribus utique prosperata qua per annos ferme DC. A. U. C. nulla repudium domus scripsit?" Op. I. p. 305. Ed. 1844.

Gellius, l. 4, c. 3, Noct. Att. "Spurius Carvilius cui Ruga cognomen fuit A. U. C. DXXXIII." (P. 266.) Comp. lib. 17, c. 21, where the date is DXXIX.; it should be DXXVII. Gronovius says. (Ed. Amst. 1706.)

more sensual than the heathen, that they should exceed them in chastity and integrity. 10. We plight our faith in the face of the Church to hold "till death us do part," not till adultery or any other scandalous cause, which promise ought to be altered if we do not think meet to perform it. Upon these and many like considerations which he would repeat (but I cannot readily remember), I know he held it more safe to bear with a private inconvenience, than alter the ancient strictness according to the looseness of our later times, and since ancient writers tell us the turtle is pudica and univira, would often wish God would please that the voice of the turtle might be again heard in our land.

Indeed he was a Prelate of venerable strictness and purity, who would much bewail the unruly and horrid licentiousness of our times, which he conceived grew great by the lessening of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The sword of excommunication was locked up in the sheath, and the Church had not the key of it; but men of vicious and lewd lives, who formerly would have been thrust out for seven years, were admitted without censure to the comfort of the Sacraments; and so instead of godly sorrow, too many exult in their sins, jest and droll upon them in all companies, chant their crimes to music, and sing them sometimes in the high places of the streets.

[40.] Our holy Bishop had a very chaste ear, and would never permit the *καταγλωττίσματα*, or tongue-fornications of any, but would presently reprove them wheresoever he was. And he was once at a public table, where he could not presently allay that profane merriment, so that he put back his chair, and resolved, like Cato, to be gone, till

the company became sorry, and promised to preserve his episcopal reverence and gravity.

At a table no man was more cheerful and pleasant, yet ever wisely and inoffensively facetious, and would often call upon the company, as Plato to the rough Xenocrates, *θύειν ταῖς χάρισι*,¹ to sacrifice to the Graces to obtain hilarity; but according to his own motto, *Inserui Deo et latere*, Serve GOD and be cheerful. His salt was ever candid and white, not bitter and biting, without all sarcasms or ironies, saying mirth was too good a creature to be abused with any affrontive jests, scurrility or bawdry. He loved *innocuos sine dente sales*,² so as to make every body smile, and no body blush. Impudence and drolling upon Divine things he would not allow to be wit, but want of wit; on the other side, GOD Almighty never forbid lawful pleasures, and they are not more religious and spiritual who are more austere and morose than others. CHRIST JESUS refused not cheerful meetings, but condemned the sad countenances and fullness of the Pharisees. And melancholy of all humours he held was fit to make a bath for the Devil.

Cheerfulness and innocent pleasure preserve our mind from rust, and the body from putrifying with dulness and distempers; and therefore he would sometimes cheerfully say, he did not love to look upon a sour man at dinner, and if his guests were pleased and merry within, would bid them hang out the white flag in their countenance.

In his entertainments he was ever very hospitable, and held where Divines wanted a competency of means, besides necessary provision for a family, to

¹ Diog. Laer. in vita. (Xenoc. § iii.)

² Mart. "Innocuos permitte sales." (Lib. iii. xcix.)

be hospitable to others, it was the fault of the State ; but where Divines had good livings, and did not keep hospitality, the governors of the Church were in fault if they did not exact it of them. Yet if he found in his visitation an evil churchman that spent vainly and riotously upon himself, he would tell him he was guilty of sacrilege, and bound to make restitution to the poor.

But in all his own entertainments his Lordship was as free and communicative of his discourse as of his cheer ; the mind had the principal share there, for he gave ever such excellent sauce with his meat, so many witty apophthegms and other ingenious sallies of wit, as made everybody eat with a better appetite. He loved to be a rational feeder, not as at a manger, but a table, not much caring what his provender was, for such was all kind of food without talk, *prandium boum et asinorum*. And his discourse was not only cheerful and pleasant, but most learned and profitable, full of recondite and polite learning, that whoever heard presently became all ear, and was not only better the next day, but for ever. I have heard many affirm that they never heard more learning from any man than from him, sometimes at the close of a dinner, at a table, or in his arbour afterwards : and though he was very splendid in the entertainment of his friends, yet very sparing in the entertainment of himself ; for himself he chose rather to have a table replenished from an orchard or a dairy than from the butcher's shambles. To eat flesh he thought lawful from the beginning of the world, but never used by Seth's posterity (the line of the Church) before the Flood, and still recommended to all scholars a plain diet, to which, as Socrates said, hunger and thirst was the best sauce ; and for his own part, whenever

he dined with any other Haugouft,¹ he loft the afternoon, and therefore drank fo little wine, as to be almoft abftemious, and always of a very fmall fort, and diluted with water for fear of fumes, that hindered his ftudies and prayers, faying withal that whoever eats and drinks temperately, facrifices to his own bodily health, and good temper of mind; but whoever eats and drinks otherwife, muft needs have a grofs body and a foggy brain.

[41.] After he was made Bifhop, it made no change in his former fweetnefs and affability, ftill he knew us, and we knew him, like a ftar in the firmament, *quo altior eo minor*, he rather feemed lefs to himfelf for being raifed higher. Who ever once difcovered infolency in him, or that he bore himfelf with a big carriage to any man? Humility with honour, and urbanity with high dignity were never more really conjoined, he would ftill instantly condefcend to fpeak with any fcholar, though never fo poor or young. Once when he lay in Channel Row,² during his attendance upon Parliament, he rofe at midnight and baptized a dying child at a neighbour's houfe, when the Curate of the parifh could not be found; and ever deemed humility was the infallible cognizance or mark to diftinguifh Apoftolical Bifhops from others, according to the old ftory of Auftin the Monk,³ who came into England in the time of King Ethelred, fix hundred years after CHRIST, and preffed the Weft Britons of this Ifland to receive him as their mafter and governor, becaufe he was fent by the Bifhop of Rome. A learned Abbot of Bangor having no fancy to his meffage, confulted with a Hermit

[of St.
Morgant]

¹ Haut gout.

² Now called Canon Row. See my Memorials of Weftminfter. p. 76

³ Bede, Hift. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. ii.

what they should think of this man, and his message from Rome; Hearken, (says the Hermit,) the next time you and your brethren meet to attend this Austin in Synod, observe if he show any reverence or carry himself humbly when he comes before you; but if he salute not, and bear himself disdainfully, receive him not, for he is no Apostle of CHRIST. At the next Synod the jolly Prelate entered among the Monks, with a braving courage, never stooped or vailed his head, but usurped the highest place in the congregation, as the Roman Legate. At this the Britons disliked his arrogancy, and would not receive his message.

Yet our good Bishop's humility appeared not only in his outward demeanour, and verbal salutation, which he knew were often forced, and more than was required, and that rivers were not deepest where they overflow, but in their own channels; but in paying all due respect to the defects of others without reflecting upon his own perfections; therefore it was not his fashion to undervalue other men's learning, or magnify his own. Upon frequent occasions he would confess his want of Eastern languages, but in such studies wherein he was conversant, would by private letters give great help to many writers of books, who have confessed in their returns to him that the books were not theirs but his, and thereupon would have had him to have owned them, or at least to have suffered an honourable mention of himself in those books, which he would in no sort permit, that as Camerarius¹ said of

¹ He says, "*Quemadmodum quidam scripsit.*"

Joachim Camerarius, born at Bamberg, 1500; studied at Leipzig and Wittenberg; the friend of Melancthon, and Rector of Leipzig University, 1544; he died there, April 17, 1574. (Moreri, ii. 56.)

Melanchton,¹ he was like a nightingale, that with his singing sweetly affected all others, but would not endure to hear of it himself.²

[42.] Notwithstanding this great civility and sweetness of temper towards all people generally, we must acknowledge a vanity and defect in all human accomplishments and perfections; it being not possible that almost eighty years should be spent in this age of human infirmity, and that any man's actions should be all fine flour, without mixture of coarser meal and bran; to say so were not to commend, but to flatter, not truly to represent, but to daub; our Bishop would often severely censure himself (and said he best knew his own heart) to be of sinners the chief, most unthankful to God for many Divine talents conferred upon him, and most wanting especially in many grains of meekness and forbearance to his neighbours. Indeed he was by nature *ὑπερήφανος*, (as most great wits are,) irritable and subject to great eruptions of anger oftentimes, especially if he had met with bold and arrogant, but slow parts. S. Hierom³ acknowledges the like harsh disposition in himself, and compares himself to an angry horned beast, and says that all the strict discipline of Bethlehem and watchings of Arabia could not mortify this indecent passion in him. God Almighty permitting these most holy and learned men sometimes to betray themselves into such palpable weaknesses, does sufficiently convince us, that human infirmity cleaves to human

¹ Philip Melanchthon, or Schwarzerdt, born at Bretten; Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, 1518; he died there, 1560. He was of a gentle and winning disposition, and next to Luther, the most distinguished of the Reformers.

² Hist. vitæ, p. 80. Ed. Hagæ Comitæ, 1555.

³ Apol. 1. adv. Ruff. "Monebo cornutam bestiam petis." (Adv. Ruffin. lib. 1. c. vii.)

nature, and absolute perfection belongs only to the Divine.¹

Yet I will add, that as he was very irritable and apt to be offended, so he was exceeding placable and ready to be appeased; too generous he was to be vindictive, and therefore though he would chide earnestly, yet he ever censured mildly; like the Apostles who had fiery tongues, but gentle hands; besides it was his judgment, that if any man asked unreasonable things, it was much better to chide him away from his house for his fault, than give him good words, and afterwards not do it; *minus negatur qui negatur celeriter*, and would always advise other people, if any thing troubled them to speak it out, and never to retain a dry discontent, and for the most part made his passion subservient to virtuous ends; by his great natural inclination to anger, becoming far more active and zealous in the carrying on his great projectments for piety and charity.

[Pepys speaks 31 Jan. 1667, "of the present quarrel between the Bishop and Dean (Thomas Wood) of Lichfield and Coventry, the former of whom did excommunicate the latter, and caused his excommunication to be read in the church while he was there, and after it was read the Dean made the service be gone through with, though himself as excommunicate was present, which is contrary to the Canon, and said he would justify the choir therein against the Bishop, and so they are at law in the Arches, about which is a very pretty story."² On another occasion he received a visit from Christopher Comyns, Rector of Morbury, noted for a profane expression which he frequently used before

¹ Dall. de usu patr. b. ii. ch. i. p. 8. Ed. Lond. 1675.

² Diary, iv. 339.

the Restoration, that "hell was paved with bishops' skulls," when the Bishop thus good-humouredly addressed him, "I hear you have often said that hell is paved with bishops' skulls, I desire you to tread lightly on mine when you come there."¹ He used great persuasions to induce the ejected ministers to conform in 1662. A. Burges, (R. Sutton Coldfield, A.M., ~~S. John's, Cambridge~~) Fellow of Emmanuel, Bishop Hacket "sent for, as he did for several other worthy, but dissatisfied ministers in his diocese, hoping to gain upon them, but his design failed."² So with Dr. Bryan and O. Grew, of Coventry,³ and John Billingsley, of Chesterfield, "using both flatteries and threats."⁴

For any other censures of being illiberal and covetous, which are so frequently and unduly cast upon Divines, examine his life, and few men will appear more incontaminate and free. In bad times when he had lost his best incomes, and like the widow of Sarepta, had but a handful of meal and a cruise of oil left for himself and family, yet he then thought Elias was worthy of one cake out of it, and accordingly has given a distressed friend twenty pounds at a time, and would always argue, that times of persecution were the most proper seasons of charity, and that charity was oftentimes the happy means to preserve us from suffering; for tyrants more commonly oppress the rich than their inopious enemies; as the historian observed in the days of Nero, "*Alium thermæ, alium horti truci-*

¹ Britton's Lichfield, p. 60.

² Kennet, 816.

³ Ibid. 917.

⁴ Kennet, 918. "He was urgent with several other worthy but dissatisfied ministers in his diocese, hoping to gain upon them, but his design failed, and yet he gave encomiums to several of them." (Calamy's Account, ii. 740, 850, 170, see also 163, 751. Communicated by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., S. John's College, Librarian of the University.)

darunt," many men might have fared better, but for delicious gardens and sweet baths ; no man was safe that had a sumptuous building, or an envied possession ; and therefore he believed it a prudent as well as a religious act in the Primitive Church at Jerusalem, to surrender their estates to the holy Apostles for pious uses, rather than to leave them to a violent extension of profane persons in a short time afterwards.

st. [Lord Lyttleton thus describes Hacket : " In the first place he resides constantly in his diocese, and has done so for many years, he asks nothing of the Court for himself and family, he hoards up no wealth for his relations, but lays out the revenues of his see in a decent hospitality, and a charity void of ostentation. At his first entrance into the world he distinguished himself by a zeal for the liberty of his country, and had a considerable share in bringing on the revolution that preserved it. His principles were never altered by his preferment, he never prostituted his pen nor debased his character by party disputes or blind compliance. Though he is warmly serious in the belief of his religion, he is moderate to all who differ from him ; he knows no distinction of party, but lends his good offices alike to Whig and Tory, a friend to virtue under any denomination, an enemy to vice under any colour. His health and old age are the effects of a temperate life, a quiet conscience ; though he is now some years above four score nobody ever thought he lived too long, unless it was out of impatience to succeed him."¹]

[43.] When he was made a Bishop no man was less lucripetous, he desired to hold nothing *in commendam*, he renewed all his leases for years, and not for

¹ *Puritan, Decem. 1739.*

lives, and upon very moderate fines, and spent a very considerable share thereof upon his cathedral, often applying to the Church what the orator said of the Common Wealth, "*Non minori mihi est curæ qualis futura sit Respublica quam qualis est hodie.*"¹ While he lived, besides his constant charity to the poor of Lichfield city, he inquired out distressed cavaliers in his diocese, and lent them £50 or £100 for a year or two upon their own bill or bond, and afterwards frequently gave it to them. And thus he did sometimes to persons of a differing religion, with whom he held no Christian communion but in this one thing of giving, and never looking to receive again. He reckoned that charitable expenses left to the power and management of executors were more theirs than the founders', and therefore was resolved to dispense his own in his lifetime, and not be like the whale, that affords no oil till she die and must disgorge it.

To several colleges in Cambridge he gave liberal sums of money,—to Clare Hall £50, to S. John's £50, to Trinity College he added a peculiar building called Bishop's Hostel, which cost him £1200,² and appointed that with the yearly rents of those chambers books should be bought into the College Library; and to the University Library he be-

¹ ~~Intention~~ "*Mihi autem non minori curæ est, qualis respublica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.*" (Lælius, c. xii. 43.)

² He bequeathed £100 to Trinity College Library, and £20 to the Senior Bursar or Steward, as he writes, "to be bestowed two months after my decease in 'exceedings,' as they are called, at a dinner in the public hall of the College, that I may give a kind farewell to that Society whose prosperity I wish above all places in the earth." The £1200 he gave to re-build Garrett's Hostel, which was to be re-named Bishop's Hostel. He gave 872 volumes to the University Library of Cambridge; the duplicates were sold, and 220 additional volumes purchased. (Catal. Acad. MS. O. o. 52, fo. 68.)

queathed by will all his own books, which cost him about £1500.

[“Right Reverend and most worthy Governors of that Society which is more precious to me next to the Church of JESUS CHRIST than any place upon earth.

“I was once an unworthy member of your body, and will be ever a most affectionate devotee unto it. But a little that is real is better than long protestation of words. And it is but little that my meanness is able to afford, to express my thankful retribution to my dearest nurse. Your two messengers, excellent persons, Mr. Pullin and Mr. Gale, are as welcome to me as any persons that ever came to my Palace, fit to be employed upon a greater errand. I have delivered unto them six hundred pounds, and will send six hundred more, if God assist, before Candlemas next, or sooner as I can procure the sum, when I am at London to attend the Parliament. My proposition to you, and my desire is, that the whole sum together may be expended to re-build the Hostle, formerly called Garret's Hostle, and utterly ruined, as I hear, as your own judgments with skilful surveyors shall think fit, no way prescribing the mode of the structure, but leaving it absolutely to your unquestioned discretions. Neither will I prescribe any conditions to be dictated by my authority, but move it with all submission that from henceforth the new raised structure may be called Bishop's Hostle, without any more addition of my remembrance. And I wish heartily that the title may be auspicious to the learned and pious that shall study in it. Also I propound that the rents of the respective chambers in the said Hostle may be expended yearly upon the College Library, either for books, or desks, or for the fabric and structure of the said Library. Which rents under the manage and conclusion of your better judgments, I suppose may be most providently set and appointed by the Reverend Master, and Vice-Master, the Senior Dean, and the Senior Burfar, and the third or Junior Burfar, or any

three of these, and be received by them or by such as they shall appoint at such times as in their prudence for the payment they shall like best; and every year, within six weeks after Michaelmas, they be pleased to audit the said receipts of rents, and to expend them as they shall think fit, either in books, desks, or the necessary works belonging to the fabric of the said Library. Whatsoever question may or shall arise upon that which I have not clearly expressed, I leave it absolutely to the determination of the Master and Seniors. So God prosper it, as well as I intend it. And when the work is finished or in some forwardness, I will with great complacency accept of your kind invitation to be your guest, who humbly crave your prayers, and God knows how often you are remembered in the prayers of

“Your humble Servant,

“And the great lover of you and your Society,

“JOH. LICH. & COVEN.

“*Lichfield, Aug. 11, 1669.*

“Directed:—For the Very Reverend and R^t. Worth^l. Dr. John Pearson, M^r. of Trinity College in Cambridge, and to the Rev. and R^t. Worth^l. the Senior Fellows of the same Society.”¹]

¹ Communicated by the Rev. W. J. Beamont, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In Duport's *Musæ Subsecivæ*, p. 361, is a sonnet on the restoration of Gerard's Hostel.

“Non tulit Hæcetus, casum miseratus iniquum,
Parte sui Triados nempe carere Domum,
Cujus et ipse ingens olim decus, erigit ergo
Munifica lapsum restituitque manu.
Hospitium Regis nobis fuit ante vetustum,
Præfulsit Hospitium nunc erit ecce novum.”

(Communicated by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A.)

Bishop Hacket “gave £1200 for the purpose of re-building Gerard's Hostel, with a provision that the rents of the chambers should be for ever appropriated to the improvement of the Library. Not long afterwards the new Library was erected at a cost of about £18000, but when it was finished, considerable sums being still requisite for the bookcases and internal fitting up of the magnificent room, it was re-

By one of Dr. Barrow's letters mentioning subscriptions to the new library, it is said "to his enterprise and of the present society, were obliged by the great munificence and favour of God Johnate Lord 14th of Northfield and Canterbury our most worthy

manufacturer It was his judgment that a Bishop was bound by ancient canons to dispense his episcopal revenues in acts of charity, and therefore no year passed without some eminent actions of that kind, which were never written in any book upon earth, the more certain that they are in Heaven. To the several Prisons in London he sent oftentimes good relief by a friend, whom he ever straitly charged to conceal from whence it came. When the Plague was in London, he collected from his poor diocese £351 by November, 1665, for the city in that woeful time, besides what he sent particularly and bountifully to his old parish of Holborn from himself.¹

collected and solved that the charge should be repaid to the College stock by the rents of the Bishop's Hostel, amounting to about £50 a year." Dr. Bentley however recovered the entire sum, about £300, and expended it in the purchase of books. (Monk's Life of Bentley, i. 127-8.)² On Sept. 28, 1670, Bishop Hacket mentions in a letter to Archbishop Sheldon that he had given £1200 to Trinity College; a receipt for £600 was given on Aug. 10, and for the residue, Nov., 1669. (Panc MS. fo. 165 b.)

Aug. 5, 1669. That Mr. Pulleyn and Mr. Gale attend on the Bishop of Lichfield with a letter of thanks. (Mem. Book, fo. 70.)

Singularly enough he paid the first £600 before bequeathing £1200 in a codicil signed Aug. 31, 1669, and in consequence some correspondence of an amicable nature between the College and Sir Andrew Hacket was the result. Of course the College, through Dr. Pearson, then Master, gave a release for the whole sum, on Dec. 19, 1670.

¹ The following extracts from the Bishop's correspondence with Archbishop Sheldon will illustrate the energy and goodness of his character. Those portions are omitted which relate to the trouble which was caused by the unworthy Dean, who would neither contribute to the restoration fund, nor attend chapters, but was a favourer of Nonconformists, and absented himself from residence. Bishop Hacket in the end was compelled to pronounce sentence of excommunication upon him.

He offered, Sept. 21, 1655, the chaplaincy in Lord Elgin's family to Sancroft, then B.D., in lieu of Frampton, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, who was going to Aleppo, but adds "the employment, considering your great gift, is too mean a great deal, but in these uncooth times perhaps, it would fit you as well as another." (Tanner, lii. 83.)

The bishopric was valued by Accepted Frewen, (who greatly re-

And all this he did without being burthenfome to his Clergy, ever giving them quick despatch when they repaired to him for institution, and gave in

What is consecrated to God when the same form and in the same

lue,) communibus annis at £1200. (Tanner MS. 131, a letter to Archbishop Sheldon, Jan. 6, 1665, Bishop "My young married couple have caused me to keep a Christmas. . . . Winter journeys are very unhealthful to have laid out in this last year for leading and the spire, and in the whole year received from several benefactors yet I purpose, with God's assistance, to adventure in rent to glaze it, which is not yet despatched, to wash with o pave all the church, to set up a new organ, and fifty-new stalls, to pave the Quire with black and white marble all will cost £1700. But I must lay about me not only to raise for monies." (Tanner, 131, fo. 11.)

1665. "The work of the cathedral for the spire and leadent faster on, and never did monies come slower in. But rely on His own work." (MS. xlv. fo. 17.)

1665. "Lichfield hath been free from the pestilence since. The gentry begin already to fly our poor city, ore discouragement than I can see cause for. I resolve to and not to stir. The whole body of the chapel, chancel, aisle, and body of the church is leaved from one end to the the side aisles, by God's blessing, shall be covered also by

The great spire is of fine work, and four parts of seven Dabit Deus huic quoque finem. Yet of £17000 which for this work, I have not yet received £800." (Fo. 26.)

1665. "I began my journey on the last of May, and reny home on the 16th of this June. God gave me strength to preach in Bridgenorth, Salop, Elsmar, Wem, Whitrayton, Hodnet, and Stafford, in the compass of those few

days, I was meritoriously resorted to every where, and in these several places I confirmed 5384. I was told openly at Wem, that by my sermon preached there, there were a hundred Presbyterians less than before. Yet the sequestered ministers, Steel, Gilbert, Parsons, and others, keep diverse from loyalty and conformity who otherwise would be reduced. At Wem two letters of confirmation of the thrice renowned naval victory, and the safety of our dearest joy the Duke of York, which is more to me than the victory, were shewn to me as I was busy in the chancel in Confirmation. I rose up, and desired all the congregation to join with me in prayer, and I ventured upon an extemporal prayer of thanksgiving at the Communion-table, which was answered with an Amen like a clap of thunder." (Tanner MS. xlv. fo. 13.)

July, 1661. Bishop Hacket proposed that "every Prebendary towards the repairs of the ruined cathedral should give the fourth

3

4

July

p. 96.

2

charge to dismiss them with very small fees. Whenever he gave any of them preferment he was as clear from simony as from witchcraft, which he de-

part of all such fines as any of them then had or hereafter should receive upon the first leasing and renewing any lease of his respective prebend." Many complied. (Ib. fo. 82.)

xlv.

July 11, 1666. "I received £100 delivered to my son from H. H. the Dukes of York, for our pious work, which is the just sum to finish the imagery glass of the west window." (Fo. 84.)

Sept. 22, 1666. He speaks of the calamity which has befallen three of his children by the great fire of London, and says, "I had laid in provision of beer and firing at my wonted lodging, but beg to be excused attendance at Parliament, being for twelve years always not only ill, but sick in autumn, my malady being a great languor in my legs, but especially in my stomach, which will keep nothing that I eat, which causeth me to fall into a course of physic, and keeps me necessarily to my home, and to have my attendant about me." (Fo. 108.)

April 14, 1666. "Within the walls nothing is more pleasing to God and man than the singing of a common psalm after sermons which hath charmed the whole auditory, to take all prayers and the blessings with them. A reformation that my heart rejoiceth in. This is no innovation, it was in this church ab antiquo, and but of late omitted. It is so in S. Paul's, London, to this hour, it was so in Westminster Abbey from Bp. Andrewes' to Bp. Williams' time. . . . No anthem was set till 10 of Q. Eliz. by Dr. Tye, and then by Tallis. Custom took them up, but no anthem was spoken of in Common Prayer Book or Canon till within these three years. And now it gives no command, but permission." (Ib. 131, fo. 14.)

Feb. 15, 1667. "About a fortnight since I entertained our Dean and Canons at dinner, made them shake hands and promise amicable concurrence." (Ib. xlv. fo. 278, 269.)

Jan. 29, 1667. "This last year, 1667, I have received but £416, and have laid out £1125. I have received £100 from H. H. the Duke of York." (Fo. 269.)

Sept. 16, 1667. He begs the Archbishop to excuse him from a journey, as "I am not yet supplied with beasts to draw my coach, the old ones some of them being for ever maimed in my scorching travels in July last," (Fo. 218,) in going to Parliament.

June 30, 1660. "The Clergy of Warwickshire gave to the restoration £214, of Derbyshire £340, and of Staffordshire £320." (Ib. fo. 16.)

xlv

April 4, 1668. "Since my being settled in this see, I delivered up for the work of the church in the first month that I came hither £3500. By collections of benevolence there hath been laid out upon the said fabric, about £13000 more. I have renewed no leases for

tested above all sins, and ever accounted it among the fatal prognostics of a dying Church. When Jason outbid Onias, and Menelaus outbid Jason

lives, but for such as were upon years. I have augmented the Vicarage of Tarven £40 per annum, Belgrave £30 per annum, Long Bugby £20. To release of captives I gave £100. My first fruits came to above £500. My tenths are to this year £350." (lb. fo. 20.)

Dec. 12, 1668. "In velvet purple and azure, I received £50 worth from the excellent Lady Levison to serve for a parafront, a suf-front, and carpet for the altar. From my Lady Bagot most rich pieces of gold and silk, and exquisite imagery for two cushions, whose making up being added from a devout aged widow and a poor one, Mrs. Hulkes, they are as beautiful as ever I saw. Add to these the most curious piece that I have ever seen of purple velvet flowered with gold and silk, to be placed in the parafront above the cushion, presented to me from the religious wife of Mr. W. Talbot. Lady Wolfy's daughters put these together with industry and needle." (MS. xlv. fo. 66.)

Aug. 7, 1669. "The stalls of our new and most beautiful Quire at Lichfield, fifty-two in number, have several patrons, at £8 cost for thirty-four of them. The chief are the Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Clarendon, then Chancellor, Earl of Southampton, then Treasurer, Marquis of Dorchester, Earls of Bridgewater and Anglesey, Lord Secretary Arlington, and Bps. of Durham and Winton." (lb. 131, fo. 38.)

Jan. 18, 1669. "Having reached Lichfield after a tedious and dangerous journey of five days, our cathedral church being made ready to perform all holy services in it, I addressed myself to reconcile it from much bloodshed and pollution which had defiled it, and to dedicate it to the worship of the Most High. All things being made ready and prepared according to the best rituals that I could search into, having no pattern before me. . . . The baptistery, the holy table, with all the plate and utensils belonging to it, and the pulpit were new made, erected and consecrated four years ago by a pattern which I received from Bishop Wrenn, deceased. . . . Truly I did my best endeavour to proceed according to piety and the best antiquity. . . . Though I will not belie God's goodness to say I am cast down with sickness, yet verily I am so feeble and indisposed, that in plain blunt language, I cannot endure a journey of one hundred miles. Beside that in the Spring I do constantly submit to a course of physic and a diet not to strengthen me, (that age is past with me,) but to keep me from sinking down."

Sept. 28, 1670. In reply to a request from the Primate for a return of his expenses, he says, "I am most negligent in recording my expenses to pious and noble uses, but with the help of a frail memory, the particulars ensuing are very certain. I gave £3500 to the fabric of the cathedral eight years since; I have collected about £15000

This no doubt was the form used by Bp. Andrew's. Thomas Ashmole had been Chaplain, the word "Vestibule" is used instead of "Cathedral", and there is no consecration of ornaments (see Andrew's book, p. 211.)

*"the Parafront
or altar cloth"
Cardwell inf.
2727*

300 Talents, (2 Mach. iv.) it is set down as a prodigious token of the destruction of Jerusalem, and joined with the fiery horsemen that appeared in the next chapter (chap. v.) to the same affrighting

more, and have expended it and much more to the same structure, which is now for the organ, stalls, altar, ornaments, pavement, and all other parts, the fairest by report in the land. [*In the margin*,—The King's statue, spire, west window.] Our communion-plate, parafront, and suffront have cost £230. I am now upon the casting of six [in 1669 he says eight, fo. 35] fair bells for the steeple at £1300 charge, for which sum I am like to be left in the lurch extremely, for I am behindhand with the workmen £400. The great bell of 4500lbs. weight is already cast, but not yet hung, for it attends the carpenters' works. The second bell of 3410lbs. weight will be despatched in a month, the rest in time as moneys shall be brought in for materials, but I pay all for the supply in the mean time. I have provided a spacious and most convenient house for my successors as can be inhabited, and by much providence and frugality it cost me but £1200. I preserved all the old tenants in their leases, and all most content with their fines. I lent £500 to His Majesty, and procured great loans from my clergy. I have given £1200 to build in Trinity College in Cambridge, a fabric called Bishop's Hostel, the rents of the chambers to go perpetually to the Library, which will amount to about £60 per annum. I have given £50 to build up Clare Hall, and £50 to the Library of S. John's College, because my noble lord was the founder thereof. For all this I keep every day handsome hospitality for the cathedral men, clergy, gentry, inhabitants of the city. And the poor want not their daily refectations. I hope I have forgot many things. My private charity I hate to keep in a calendar, only I add that I give £20 per annum duly to some of the decayed gentry to whom I carry good affection. I have done with this." (Ib. fo. 45.)

Sir Andrew Hacket on oath June 11, 1684, declared that his "father did lay out and expend, whilst he was Bishop, in the repairs of the cathedral, the prebendal house wherein he lived, and hospitality and charity, more than the fines by him received, and the annual rent profit and emoluments of the bishopric," and that his "estate, both real and personal, at the time of his being made bishop was far greater than all the estate that he left at his death, the preferment of his children included." (Tanner MS. cxxxi. fo. 104.)

Hacket, however, foresaw this result, for he says, Oct. 15, 1670, "I am assured my children and grandchildren will not want, because I borrow this from them for God's service." (Ib. xlv. fo. 228.) Yet he was very attached to them, his own home he calls "the best nursery of his age," and mentions a visit in 1666 to a newly married daughter as "a kindness, though a troublesome one to my old age, due to a child that always deserved well." How much then did Lichfield owe to

purpose. Truth is, in his poor Church he had but few preferments to give, otherwise he would say, he would never suffer good scholars to sit close in their studies unpreferred, while others who less deserved sharked them away. To give the best preferments to the worst men, was in his opinion to set the goats on the right hand and the sheep on the left, which would certainly hasten the Divine judgment, which would decree righteousness. I will only add further upon this head, that wherever any object commendable and deserving was represented to him, there needed not much speaking, his charity was *diffusio favi*, like the dropping of a honeycomb, you need not press it, it would drop of itself without straining. But for such as were *validi mendicantes*, vagabonds and sturdy beggars, who had both health and limbs, and yet sought to eat their bread by the sweat of others, our Bishop never would encourage them; for by long acquaintance with

"the unwearied labour, prudence, piety and charity of its good Bishop a second Cedda." (Ashmole's Life, p. 86.)

T. Seward, Canon of Lichfield, in a letter (Gent. Mag. lxvii. p. 479) to Dr. Chappe, giving a summary of Hacket's life and services to Lichfield Cathedral, says of him, "*Præsul hic doctus et strenuus fidei Anglicanæ defensor erat contra Jesuitas, et concionator sui temporis celebris.*"

And the following extract shows how his pious work lived after him,—“The service was performed in Lichfield Cathedral with more harmony and less huddle than I have known in any church in England, except of late in S. Paul's. This cathedral church was beaten to pieces in the late wars, but by the zeal and diligence of Bishop Hacket was re-built as entirely as if it had never been injured, and chiefly with the money he raised by barefaced begging. No gentleman lodged or scarce halted in the city to whom he did not pay his respects by way of visit, which ended in plausible entreaties for some assistance towards restoring his distressed church from ruin. And that he brought about effectually, and adorned his choir so completely and politely, as I have not seen a more laudable and well composed structure for the purpose in the country anywhere.” (Lives of the Norths, i. p. 144.)

the Judges, he had heard they were generally atheists, libertines living in promiscuous lust, pilferers, evil servants of God, unprofitable to the King and Common Wealth, dishonourers of the Christian name, and therefore sometimes was of the mind to go from the Church to the Quarter Sessions, and complain there that God's heavy judgments would fall upon that kingdom where these were permitted.

[44.] There never was a greater enemy to idleness than this diligent and painful Bishop, who would seldom spare an afternoon; but nothing could divert him from his morning study to his last, and say, he was then like a Frenchman, *primo impetu acerrimus*, best in a morning, and that Aurora was the mother of honeydews and pearls which dropped from scholars' pens upon their papers, and ever reckoned that he had great advantage of some great Divines, Dr. Holdsworth and Jeffries,¹ his dear friends, whom for their late watchings he called *Noctuæ Londinenses*. But by a constant study he had searched into all kinds of learning; he had been a great inquirer into the knowledge of Nature, and made many peculiar observations of very many creatures, especially bees, spiders, snails, and of all sorts of husbandry, and would often merrily say, since husbandry was turned over to swains and mean persons, the earth disdained to give so luxuriant a crop, as when it was turned up *laureato vomere et triumphali aratro*,² by a laureat ploughman, and one that had triumphed in the Capitol, and that it was much easier to be great and rich, than wise

Ms. p. 62.
¹ John Jeffries, Canon of Canterbury, 1629. (Walker's Sess. ii. p. 7.)

² Pliny. "Vomere laureato et triumphali aratro." (Nat. Hist. viii. 4.)

and learned; and that if it were not below his profession, he would undertake to grow rich by hops, having strange skill in the weather, and in the nature of the plant, so that he had an extraordinary foresight when they were likely to take or not. As Aristotle reports of Thales the wise man, that one year he bought up all the oil beforehand, when he foresaw the scarcity of the next;¹ but the Bishop intended nothing but philosophy, and therein the contemplation of the Creator of all things, asserting that the least creature beneath us was worthy the contemplation of our whole life, and yet would not be thoroughly understood, and that David worthily made a choir of all creatures to praise God from the greatest Angel in the host of Heaven to the smallest flake of snow.

In his younger time he had been much addicted to school-learning, being then much used in the University, but afterwards grew weary of it, and professed he found more shadows and names than solid juice and substance in it, and would much mislike their horrid and barbarous terms more proper for incantation than Divinity, and became perfectly of B. Rhenanus² mind, that the schoolmen were rather to be reckoned philosophers than divines; but if any pleased to account them such, he had much rather with S. John Chrysostom be styled a pious Divine, than an invincible or irrefragable one

¹ Arist. Pol. l. 1. 7. Diog. Laert. in vita. (Thales. § v.)

² Bild, born at Schlestal, Alsace, 1485; surnamed Beatus Rhenanus from his residence at Strasburg, where he died, 1547. He wrote Commentaries on several of the Fathers. (Moreri, ii. 147.)

His words are, "Qui hodie vivunt theologi multo se putant etiam acutiores omnibus veteribus, quibus acumen quidem non ab imo sed doctrinam parem non concedo, quum hos multi potius philosophos appellandos censent quam theologos." In præf. ad Tert. (P. 4. Ed. Balle, 1582.)

with T. Aquinas, or our own countryman Alex. Hales.¹

For knowledge in the tongues, he would confess, he could never fix upon Arabian learning, the place was *sticulosa regio*, a dry and barren land where no water is, and had been discouraged in his younger years by such as had plodded most in it, and often quarrelled with his great friend Salmaſius for saying, he accounted no man solidly learned without skill in Arabic and other Eastern languages, our Bishop declared his mind otherwise, and bewailed that many good wits of late years prosecuted the Eastern languages so much as to neglect the Western learning and discretion too sometimes. Mr. Selden and Bishop Creighton had both affirmed to him, that they should often read ten pages for one line of sense, and one word of moment, and did confess there was no learning like to what scholars may find in Greek authors, as Plato, Plutarch, &c., and himself could never discern but that many of their quotations and proofs from them were in his own words, *incerta, inexplorata, et εἰκασμένα*.

[45.] After all this I would detain the reader no longer in things of less concern, especially knowing it to be against his mind to permit any picture of himself that could not represent him within, as well as without, approving what Plotinus said, that the other was only the image of an image, and in thirty years commonly out of fashion, and then grew ridiculous, and served only to make people laugh. Yet he had one taken by stealth,² to which I will

¹ Alex. Hales, a Franciscan, 1222; Master of Bonaventura, and called the Irrefragable Doctor. Moreri, i. 277, says he was not the author of a Commentary on the Sentences, published at Lyons, 1515.

² There is a print of him by Faithorne, (Nichols, Lit. Anec. iv. 374,) and Manning (Surrey, ii. 103; Lysons, i. 54) mentions his portrait

add only a touch or two, (as is usual,) *quia me juvet ire per omnem Heroa.*

He was of bodily stature small and slender, in all parts clean and well shapen, of a very serene and comely countenance, vivid eyes, with a rare alacrity and suavity of aspect, representing the inward candour and serenity of his mind; the temper of his body was rather delicate than strong, yet through temperance and custom, grown patient of long sitting and hard study. His voice was ever wonderful sweet and clear, so that Dr. Collins would say, he had the finest bell in the University, and in one of his speeches termed him *ἡχίτα τέτιξ*, i.e., *Canora Cicada*.¹ His behaviour was most gentle and civil, no courtier carried a better mien, nor better understood the art of behaviour, which though fortuitous and contingent to him, yet much became him in all company. His apparel was ever plain, not morose or careless, but would never endure to be costly upon himself, either in habit or diet, often quoting that of S. Austin, "Profecto de pretiosa veste erubescō," he was as much ashamed of a rich garment as others of a poor one, and thought they were fitter for a Roman Consul than a Christian Præsul, and accordingly never put on a silk cassock but at a great Festival, or a wedding of some near friend, holding that a glittering prelate without inward

by Sir Peter Lely at Beddingham, and the marriage of the daughter of Nicholas Hacket of Cheam, to Sir F. Carew. (*Ibid.* 527.)

There is a large engraving of Bishop Hacket, a half-length by Faithorne, with the date 1670, and a smaller portrait by the same artist, inserted as a book-plate in the books which he bequeathed to the University Library; both have his motto, "Inservi Deo et lætare." His effigy, engraved by Hollar, also occurs in the "Century." There is however a very fine full-length portrait of the Bishop in Trinity College Library, which was purchased by the College. (MS. Chartæ Trin. Coll. fo. 208.)

¹ Hesiod in Scut. Herc. 396, and in Diebus, 580.

ornaments was but the paraphrase of a painted wall ; (Acts xxiii. 3 ;) and on the other side, if the graces of the mind could be seen, the beauties of the body would seem but deformities, nothing being so fair and to be admired as the lustre of Divine knowledge, the eye of the soul attended with a fair hand of suitable practice. These two were like Tabor and Hermon, the two stately tops of the soul, that reach to Heaven itself. And indeed though he had greater comeliness and elegance of body, his divine soul within was fairer than the lodging without.

When he was young he had a most lively and acute wit, which rendered him acceptable to all companies, but ever tempered with wisdom and learning, that rendered him more acceptable to the best ; and with it he had a prodigious and immortal memory, whereby he ever bore about him a constant chronicle of all occurrences, that he was able to give a present account of whatsoever he had at any time read, heard, or seen ; even all remarkable alterations and changes of weather that had been in his time were as present to his memory, as if he had seen them written in the air before his eyes ; yet in all these no man valued less than he in comparison of his higher accomplishments. He abounded not barely with great learning, acute wit, excellent judgment and memory, but with an incomparable integrity, prudence, justice, piety, charity, constancy to God and to his friend in adversity, and in his friendship was most industrious and painful to fulfil it with good offices, and withal so ready and able upon all occasions to give good counsel, that he to whomsoever God gave that favour of his Lordship had a blessing scarce valuable.

Yet notwithstanding all these endowments, King Solomon's words are true in regard of the body,

"To the east of the College is a house which stands upon the site of an ancient prebendal house in which Bishop Hackett resided 1000 + and in which he resided and died. He added to ~~his~~ ^{the} house a large ^{very quiet} room which he used upon public occasions as the ^{place} ^{of these} ^{unfolding} ^{here of} ^{Hackett} ^{1669.} ^{(Harwood's} ^{Lichfield} ^{295.)}

"There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, and wife men must also die as well as the ignorant and foolish," (Eccles. ix. 2; Pf. xlix. 10;) and now the time was come that this wife and good Bishop must die. He had finished both Church and Quire, which he beautified with most comely stalls of exquisite workmanship, and he had likewise set up an excellent organ, the whole apartments about it, pipes, gilding, wainscot-case, &c., cost above £600, being a great lover of church music, and would much bewail the people's ignorance and fierceness, who loved guns more than organs; or else their lasciviousness, that would pull them out of churches and set them up in taverns, and choose rather to sing in Babylon than in Zion. And the last of his Lordship's cares for that church was for the bells;¹ he had contracted with very able founders for six excellent bells fitting for a cathedral, which his executor set up, though three only were cast before his death, and only one, viz., the tenor, hung up, which had not been hung so soon, but that his Lordship called upon the workmen to do it. The first time it was rung his Lordship was very weak, yet he went out of his own bedchamber into the next room to hear it, and seemed very well pleased with the sound, and blessed God that had favoured him with life to hear it, but withal concluded it would be his own passing bell, and so retired to his chamber, and never came out till he was carried to his grave.

[46.] He had done his work, and he must depart to the Church Triumphant. He often said by a kind of preface many years before his death, that some odd October would part us, he felt his body

¹ In 1687-91, the six bells contracted for by Bp. Hackett were recast. (Harwood, 68.) Hackett's pulpit is at Elford. (Ibid. 67.)

1688. The bells were cast in a ring of eight, "swallowing up all the metal for the ten, and that requires £80 more to be added to our poor fund for the two other bells." (Burman's Lives, p. 397. Ed. 1772.) Communicated by the Rev. T. E. R. Mavor, M.A.

*"gathered under
the feet of the
Apostles" as
Bp. Turner
said.*

more weak at that autumnal season than any other, and could not have held out so long, but that he was forced to fly to physic and diet to corroborate, or rather keep him from sinking every spring and fall. Accordingly he sickened upon S. Luke's Day, October 18, 1670, and died upon SS. Simon and Jude's Day following, aged 78 years,¹ the just time of Athanasius and S. Hierom of old, according to Baronius.

Within a fortnight before his death he remitted nothing of his former studies; when he was first taken sick he did not conceive it to be mortal, and therefore sent the week before he died to a friend in London to send him down the new books from abroad or at home. But being ever upon his watch-tower, when he perceived God beckoned him to come away, then he laid aside his books, and all communication or thoughts concerning any temporal matter; his heart was fixed, and not to be removed from the great object of eternal life. He would say to his visitants, he was a decaying old man, and desire them to avoid the room; where in confession of his sins he was ever most humble, in godly sorrow most contrite, in prayer most assiduous, in faith most steadfast, in suffering his sickness most patient, in desiring to be unclothed of the body most joyful and content. He showed no fear of death,

¹ Morris' Lives, 205.

The record on Bishop Hacket's tomb gives "Obiit 28 Oct., 1670." The entry in the Register of the Cathedral of his burial is exactly this,—

"John Hacket, Lord Bp. of Lich. & Cob., buried the 16th of November, 1670."

The title of the Register Book in which the above entry occurs is this,—*"A Register of all the Christenings, Weddings, and Burials in the Close of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, begun A.D. 1664."* (Communicated by Rev. S. Andrew of Lichfield.)

Εὐτονώτερος γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐξιτηρίους τῶν
 λόγων, ἵνα τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας συναπέλθῃ
 ῥήμασι *Last hours and death.* 139

nor the least sign of any perturbation of mind for his approaching end; but rather rejoiced that the day of the LORD was come, which he had so often desired; and as G. Nazianzen in his Funeral Sermon for S. Basil, rejoices that he died μετὰ ῥήμασιν εὐσεβείας, with godly sayings in his mouth, in like manner did our godly Bishop so conclude his days in this world as he looked to begin them in the next, that the end of this life should be suitable to the beginning of the other, and that his last words he breathed forth here should have a good connection with his first addresses when he saw GOD face to face there. Therefore being in perfect sense, he sent for one of his Prebendaries to come and pray with him, who after some holy conference, read the Office appointed for the Sick; after that his Lordship desired him to add two Collects, naming first that for the Second Sunday in Lent, and then afterward that for the First Sunday after Trinity, (both most pertinent to that great occasion,) and then to give the blessing. Which being done, he thanked him heartily with a faltering speech, whereby the company plainly perceived, that with the end of his prayers he drew near the end of his mortal life, and desired to be left alone; and so all departed the room save a couple of servants, who within half a quarter of an hour gave notice of his placid departure, with as gentle a transmigration to happiness as I think was ever heard of.

Thus I have declared sincerely the life, the sickness, the departure of this worthy Christian Prelate, who lived as good men desire to live, and as many men, that are but shadows, appear to live; and then departed with as easy an Εὐθανασία as any man could desire to die.

[47.] His funerals only remain, which were per-

formed by the Reverend and learned Dr. Scattergood,¹ his Lordship's Chaplain, in the Cathedral Church, where he was interred near the body of his predecessor, Bishop Langton,² as old people said, both great benefactors to that Church,³ under a fair tomb erected by the piety of the most accomplished Sir Andrew Hacket,⁴ his eldest son, and heir both of his estate and virtues.

He was attended thither by multitudes of the loyal

¹ Nov. 16, 1670. (Harwood, 298.) The Bishop's body having lain in state since Oct. 28.

Anthony Scattergood, eldest son of John Scattergood, of Ellafton, Staffordshire, created S.T.P. for preparing "Critici Sacri" for the press, 1662; D.D. Oxon. 1669; matriculated, 17 Dec., 1620; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, (A. O. Fasti, f. a. 1669, ii. 314;) Rector of Winwick, 1641; Yelvertoft, 1669; Prebendary of Lichfield, Aug. 16, 1666, and Lincoln's Chaplain to Abp. Williams and to Hacket, 1669; died 1689. See Worthington's Diary, ii. 95; Webb's Fasti, ii. 314; Harwood's Lichf. 243; Dupont's Musæ Subjectivæ, 174; Kennet's Chron. 708.) *buried at Yelvertoft*

² Walter de Langton, born at West Langton; Canon of Lichfield, Treasurer of Llandaff, 1290; Dean of Bridgenorth; Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1292; Lord Treasurer, 1292; Executor to the King; he died 1321. For his works at Lichfield, see my Hist. of Eng. Cathedrals.

³ Harwood's Lichf. p. 99.

Sir Andrew Hacket was educated at Westminster, A.M. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1652; Knt., 1673; Lord of the Manor of Tilbury; Master in Chancery, (Brit. Biog. vii. 421;) he died March 16, 1709, and was buried at Wifshaw, Co. Warwick. (Alum. Westm. 123; Burke, L. G. ii. 1201.) Various notices of the Hackets of Moxhull during the last century will be found in the obituaries of the Gentleman's Magazine. In a Letter dated June 6, 1653, the Bishop mentions that his second son was apprenticed to the brother of "Dominus Antonius Spargibonum," (Dr. Scattergood, who intended to edit Dr. Ward's works,) living near Newgate Prison, London. (Sloane MS. 1701, fo. 185.)

Sir Andrew married a daughter of Bishop Hethard, of Peterborough. (Notes and Queries, ii. 162, b.)

The monument, a high tomb supporting a recumbent effigy, mitred, and holding a pastoral staff, is placed under the arch of a window on the site of Bishop Blyth's monument. It was intended to stand on the right side of the altar, close to the left hand side of Bishop Langton's monument. (Gent. Mag. lxvi. p. i. 296, where there are two translations of the epitaph, with blunders in both.)

*Lewis Hist.
Transl. p. 142
Kubli's Hist.
of Ep. Wilson
p. 178.*

*Int
p. 142*

*Int
p. 142*

The MS. of "Scrinia Referata" and "Lotola" are in Trinity College Library. I should add here my sense of the courtesy which I received from Mr. W. Aldis Wright, M.A., Librarian, and Mr. White, Assistant Librarian of the College.

His Will and Bequests.

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gentry and sorrowful Clergy of his Diocese, all desirous to pay the utmost dues and rights they were able to his memory, thinking no flowers too sweet for his hearse, and no box of ointment too costly for his burial, all admiring his past diligence, sage government, admirable ministrations, and bewailing the great and universal loss by his death.

"Quantum

Præsidium Aufonia, et quantum tu perdis Iule!"

O Diocese of Lichfield, what a Father hast thou lost! O University of Cambridge, what a friend! O House of Aaron, what an ornament! O Church of England, what a faint! *Sic ora ferebant.*

[After his death were attributed to him "Christian Consolations," 12mo., 1671, re-published in 1840. His "Scrinia Referata, or Life of Archbishop Williams," appeared in folio, London, 1693. He wrote the epitaph on Archbishop Williams at Llandegai, near Bangor.² He also published a Latin translation of Bacon's Essays.³ His will⁴ is preserved in Doctors' Commons, as the Archbishop of Canterbury claimed until a recent period to have the wills of his suffragans proved in his own Court. It is dated Jan. 9, 1665; he thanks God for His grace enabling him to "embrace from his heart the true reformed doctrine of the Church of England with the Liturgy and government thereof as they are professed at this present." To Sir Andrew, his son, he left his personal property and the Manors of Micfield and Benningham Hall, Suffolk. To his three daughters Elizabeth Hutchinson, Maria Da-

He did not write "Christian Consolations." (See A. O. Fasti. 368.) - Aeneid. 11. 58.

² Ath. Oxon. iv. 689. ³ Tenison's Baconiana, 1679, p. 61. ⁴ Some lines on Spenser, 1670, may be seen in Notes and Queries, vii. 235.

⁴ Penn. 175.

In 1686 Archbishop Sancroft "borrowed the MS. Life of Bp. John Williams, by Dr. Hacket, containing 484 pages in folio," for eighteen days from Dr. Plume, under a bond for its return. (Tanner MS. xxx. 137.)

Hacket and B. Jonson translated into Latin Bacon's Essays. (A. O.) ii. 615.

Completed as he tells us on Feb. 17. 1657.

last impression and now don believe that he did. Bp. Taylor wrote. I

② *Knt. 1680. Vicar General of Lichfield 1675. [Shaw's Staffordshire i. 300.]*

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Life of Bishop Hacket.

③ *Bart. M.P. for Staffordshire, married Anne dau. of Vice. Sage and Sec. his 3^d daughter, married John Perry of London. Francis was his 6th daughter [Collins i. 22.]*

venport, and Theophila Dyves, £200 each; to Archbishop Sheldon £20 for a piece of plate; to Bps. Henshaw, Cosin, and Moseley, to Sir Walter Littleton, Mr. Henry Archbold, and Dr. A. Scat-tergood, 40s. for a ring each; to his "brothers-in-law" Bp. Henshaw, Mr. John Lisle, and Mr. Henry Stebbing, each 20s. for a ring; to his Steward, Humphrey Persehouse, £100; to his daughter-in-law, Mary, 100 marks for a jewel. There is a long codicil in which, and in his will, he remembers all belonging to him, his friends the Wolfeleys, his grandchildren, his parishes of Cheam and Holborn, his College, his officials, his servants, and the chorister who attended him. To Mrs. Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Wolfeley, he bequeathed £200, and £20 a year; and to her sister Anne £100, and £30 a year, as that lady "had given most careful and faithful attendance to him for two years' space in his household affairs, and did continue in the same respectful kindness." To the choirmen of Lichfield he gave £20; to the poor of Holborn £10, of Lichfield £10, and of Cheam £5. It should be added that in the codicil he revokes his gift by will of £100 to the Library of Trinity College in order to found the Bishop's Hostel. The books which the Public Library did not require were to be sold at the best rate by the Vice-Chancellor, the Provost of King's, and the Masters of Trinity and S. John's, and the "moneys bestowed to find such books as the said four Governors should think meet." His advice to his children is,— "My sweet sons and daughters, I charge you to hold the one orthodox Protestant religion of the Church of England. Love one another. Agree in the fear of God. Swerve not from loyalty, justice, truth, chastity, and temperance. Be very charitable

① *xx LL.D. Chancellor and Vicar General of Lichfield 1661. [Shaw's Staffordshire i. 300. Ext. Barn. 316.]*

The Bishop's children by his first marriage, and alluded to in his will, were:—

manuscript p. 140
I. Sir Andrew, ~~who~~ married, 1stly, Mary, daughter of Bishop Henshaw, she died before 1683. 2ndly, Mary, daughter of John Lisle of Moxhull. (See Dugdale's Warw. p. 686; Burke's L. G. ii. 1201.)

1. Elizabeth, who married John Hutchinson, Canon Residentiary of Lichfield, Rector of Aftbury. (B. Willis, 467.) To their daughter Elizabeth the Bishop left £200.

2. Theophila, who married Francis, son of Sir Lewis Dyve of Bromham, Beds, and grandson of Sir John Dyve and Beatrix Walcott, afterwards Countess of Bristol. [Her first cousin, John Walcott, (see p. 13,) was Prebendary of Lincoln, 1618.] (Lysons' Beds, p. 62; Burke's L. G. ii. 1485.)

manuscript p. 140
II. John, ~~apparently to be distinguished by (p. 140)~~ died young.

3. Anne, married Samuel Lockhart, who brought their son John to Lichfield to the Bishop's "great offence."

4. Mary, married John Davenport, citizen of London; she died 1672, and is buried in S. Vedast's, London. (Hatton, ii. 577.) Their son John was bequeathed £100 by the Bishop.

III. Gustavus, citizen, of S. Dunstan's-in-the-West, died 1673; he married Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Rouse of Putney, Scout Master General. (Lysons' Env. iv. 607, Admin. Acc. Book, Doctors' Commons, A. Pyc, fo. 84 b.) The Bishop, who had already given him £1500, forgave him a debt of £400, and added £100 with his blessing, charging his eldest son to "carry a most special love unto him."

Kir
St

Moore Hall

Francis Beynon Hackett
of Moore Hall, heir of his
uncle John.

in G. Hackett = C. Roebuck

Alegmon G. B. D. Hackett
of Moore Hall. Sutton
Coldfield.

representative of the
rich at the death of Andrew
Herby to his wife, who
possessor of Moorhull,
silver with, and

to the poor ; do good to your enemies. Serve God, and be cheerful.”]

But we will no more deplore his death, or repine that he is taken from us, but rather rejoice and give God thanks that we ever had him, and that he lived so long with us.

This world was not worthy of him, who was fitter company for Angels and stars of Heaven, than clods of dust and blood below ; and therefore God took him from this dunghill to stand before His throne, where we leave thee (blessed soul) among the angelical choir, joyful in the illumination of the HOLY TRINITY, and ravished with thy contemplation of the Divine and unconceivable glory.

We will endeavour not only to read and admire, but practise all thy holy counsels, which now sound more loud from thy books and writings than they formerly did from thy rare discourses and preachings.

We ascribe the glory of all to God, and will compose ourselves to imitate thy graces and virtues, (O Divine Hacket,) whose name is renowned, and memory for ever blessed.

And will hereafter listen with patience for the voice of the Archangel and trump of God, for the resurrection of the dead, the renovation of the world, the creation of the new Heaven and new earth at the glorious appearing of CHRIST JESUS with all His holy Angels and Saints : and then in the number of godly Prelates and faithful Doctors of the Christian Church, I shall see again my Bishop and Father, and hope to be seen of him in glory. Amen.

COME, LORD JESU, COME QUICKLY.

The Epitaph.

JOANNIS HACKET,

EPISC. LICHF. ET COVENTR. CINERIB. SACRUM.

PRIMÆVÆ PIETATIS ET SUMMÆ ELOQUENTIÆ PRÆSULEM,
ECCLESÆ ANGLICANÆ ET FIDEI ORTHODOXÆ ASSERTOREM
STRENUM,

CONCIONATOREM ETIAM AD ULTIMUM ASSIDUUM,
ET SUPERSTITIONIS BABYLONICÆ TAM MATURUM HOSTEM,
UT PENE IN CUNIS STRAVERIT LOYOLITAS;
(RARO EXEMPLO UT POETA PRÆLUDERET THEOLOGO)
VITÆ DENIQUE INTEGRITATE, ET INNOCENTIA,
MORUM SUAVITATE ET CANDORE,
CHARITATE ERGA PAUPERES EXIMIA,
ET LIBERALITATE ERGA SUOS INSIGNEM TYPUM;

(VERBO OMNIA)

JOH. WILLIAMS METROPOL. EBOR. PATRONI SUI ECTYPUM,
(DESINE ULTERIUS QUÆRERE)

ISTA OMNIA TABULA HÆC UNICO IN HACKETO EXHIBET.

ADVERSUS POSITUM CÆTERA MARMOR HABET.

OBIIT 28 OCT. 1670.

SUB ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ 79.

SISTAMUS ERGO!

MORÆ PRETIUM EST SCIRE,

QUIS DEMUM LANGTHONO CLAUDIT LATUS?

SOLUS HACKETUS TANTO DIGNUS CONTUBERNIO;

CUJUS PLÆ LIBERALITATI DEBETUR,

QUOD LANGTHONI CINERES NON FRIGESCUNT.

ÆDIS CATHEDRALIS LICHFIELDIÆ INSTAURATOR ILLIC,

RESTAURATOR HIC JACET.

ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ ANTISTITUM PAR INGENS,

EOQUE INGENTIUS QUOD SIBIMET PARES.

SCIRE VIS LECTOR,

QUAM MULTIS ILLE BONIS FLEBILIS OCCIDIT?

SCHOLA REGIA WESTMONAST. ALUMNUM,

COLLEGIUM SS. TRINITATIS CANTABR. SOCIUM,

ECCLESIA S. ANDRÆ, HOLBOURN } QUADRAGENARIUM
ET CHEAM IN AGRO SURRIENSI } RECTOREM,

ÆDES D. PAULI RESIDENTIARIUM,

SEDES HÆC EPISCOPALIS DIGNISSIMUM SIBI PRÆSULEM AB-

REPTUM DEFLET.

SED LUDO TE, VIATOR,

DUM INTER MORTUOS REFERO

EUM VIRUM

QUEM RESTAURATÆ PAULI RELIQUIÆ, ET CEDDÆ RUINÆ,

QUEM HOSPITIUM EPISCOPALE SS. TRIN. COLL. DE NOVO

EXTRACTUM,

ET CANTABR. BIBLIOTHECA LIBRIS CUMULATE AUCTA,

LONGUM DABUNT SUPERSTITEM.

At the head of the statue upon the monument is engraved,

"I WILL NOT SUFFER MINE EYES TO SLEEP TILL
I HAVE FOUND OUT A PLACE FOR THE TEMPLE OF THE
LORD."—PSALM 132.

At the feet,

QUAM SPECIOSA VESTIGIA
EVANGELIZANTUM PACEM.

The motto of the coat at the head of the tomb,

ZELUS DOMUS TUÆ EXEDIT ME.

On the opposite coat at the feet,

INSERVI DEO ET LÆTARE.¹

Upon the grave-stone (that covers the body) in the aisle
contiguous to the monument,

JOHANNES HACKET,
EPISCOPUS LICHF. ET COVENTR. HEIC SITUS EST.

¹ Haywood (p. 101) adds, "at the base of the tomb is inscribed, 'Optimo patri pientissimus filius, Andreas Hacket, miles, posuit.'" See his affectionate remembrance of his father's "apostolical exhortation, munificent example, and unwearied diligence." (Ib. 59.)



A P P E N D I X.



THAT impartiality and indifference to truth which this happy Church of England hath maintained, not turning the scale either this way or that way for Luther or Calvin's sake, or whomsoever else, it hath given us the advantage to be most comely in discipline, most retentive of good antiquity, most certain of fundamental truth, and of all Churches in the world to have least disagreement with all Christian Churches throughout the world. We write ourselves Christians, and nothing else. The name of Protestant as it was ever harmless, so properly it concerned but the pleading of some grievances upon one day when a diet of the princes was held at Spire. Catholic, a word to be very well approved of, finds more acceptance with some than Christian. The indignity is as if Christian were general to every schismatic and sectary, and Catholic were appropriated to the orthodox abiding in the bosom of the Church. Why, he that can falsely say Christian is my name, can he not with as much impudency and falsehood say, Catholic is my surname?

You shall never take the heart of man without a new and changeable wish. Such things as we desire their substance doth not enter into our heart, but their colours and shadows, and a shadow or a fancy takes no room, the place is as empty for all them as ever it was before. The

greater part of men glut themselves with pleasures that stink in God's nostrils, wherefore the LORD sends a disturbance upon their spirit, that they take as little pleasure in that they have as in that they have not. They drink the waters of bitterness, therefore they shall merit the more and be tormented. . . . Whatsoever the LORD gives me in this life my heart shall be contented, if He will give me Himself, I shall be satisfied with His goodness as out of a river, and he that drinketh of those waters which CHRIST shall give him, he shall never thirst.

The Wedding Garment is faith, good works, spiritual joy, repentance, and all these, and more than these, for it signifies that all virtue in the several threads shall be woven into one heart.

Faith, Hope, and Charity are fruits that hang all upon a stalk. Three separate graces, yet they have but one soul. Faith says, "There is a kingdom prepared for the righteous;" Hope catcheth hold and says, "It is prepared for me;" then Charity comes in for her part and says, "I will run to obtain it."

Miracles are the bright constellations that shine in the orbs of the New Testament.

God is everywhere, we circumscribe Him not in heaven when we look up thither, it is not the throne of His Presence but of His glory; yet for our hope's sake, for our consolation's sake, especially for the elevation of our mind, we turn our eyes towards Him in that place where there is no mixture of mutability.

Our SAVIOUR's human nature was the vessel into which the grace of the ALMIGHTY was poured, (S. John xiii. 3.) under His feet were the Apostles, they had their powers and commission from Him. The Apostles communicated their gift to the people. The Dove, that is the HOLY SPIRIT, doth use to fetch this compass about before the lights. O glorious Hierarchy! O most beautiful degree of Strength and Majesty! O golden chain, whose uppermost link is

fastened to the highest Heaven, and the nethermost part toucheth the lowest earth !

Weeping, mourning, and fasting are like prickles about a rose ; as no sweet rose is without prickles, so no powerful prayer is without these, or some of these. The rose the flower of religion, is the odour of sweet incense that ascends up before the Lord.

Observe your constant times of private prayer at least every morning and every evening, if oftener the better ; cast yourselves on your knees with a resolved preparation to be a faithful, a penitent, an earnest supplicant. Intermit not this practice for any worldly avocation, either to serve yourself, or to serve your friends ; and I can tell you this will bring such admirable effects to pass when you have got the habit and perseverance of that virtue as I durst not name, but that the Spirit of God hath got assurance of it. It will give you knowledge of Divine things when you will wonder how you learned them. It will pluck the thorns of concupiscence out of your flesh, when you will marvel how you were rid of them. It will give you courage of dangers when there is small hope to escape, and content when desire is not obtained, and cheerfulness when every thing that should procure joy is far from you. It is grace and peace, health and wealth, and every good thing that concerns this life and a better. Ask zealously, faithfully, devoutly, with love unfeigned, with a clean heart.

To wage war is a felicity to all princes, and sometimes a necessity to the good.

CHRIST wept but twice in all,—once over His friend Lazarus, that was a natural passion, and once over Jerusalem that sought His blood, that was a celestial passion. Nay, though He went but a footpace from one city to another to preach the Gospel, yet He would needs ride to Jerusalem, so to make haste to suffer, longing till the work of our redemption was finished. S. Ambrose says, He groaned as well to have the bitter cup come quickly, as to

have it pass away, and grew weary of delay till He had paid the handwriting that was against us.

When God was first angry with man, He did but walk in the cool to chide Adam.

There are few so hard hearted but will protest with an oath if our SAVIOUR had been Incarnate in these our days, then they would have strived to make Him welcome, their choicest palace should have received Him, and His diet would have been whatsoever the earth and sea afforded. Alas! to promise this to Him Who needs it not is a kind of spiritual bribery. Keep your costly mansions to yourselves, and afford Him some sustenance in a hospital. Take the plenty of the earth to your own table in sobriety and temperance, and feed Him with your alms-basket. If he say, Here is CHRIST, or lo, there He is, and that every distressed Christian is nourished for His sake, you may believe him. Why do the rich men of the world do nothing for the Churches of God? Do you expect that the HOLY GHOST should come down again like a mighty rushing wind and enter in, that every wall and window is left naked and decayed, especially in famous cathedral churches, to the injuries of the weather? Good God! what was the zeal of our forefathers, that they should build more unto religion than we keep in reparation?

Alas! poor philosophy, who knows not how to confound the wisdom of her principles? Every part of nature should be out of frame, heaven and earth should pass away before one tittle of God's Book should perish, that with the dissolution of the heavens no angels might remain, and with the ruin of the earth no man might be left to testify against it. The holy martyrs have forsaken their lives, that this truth might not forsake them. And as it is reported that the ashes spread upon the high mountains of Tenariffa retain for ever any letters drawn upon them by reason of the tranquillity of the place, so no wind or storm can scatter away those holy Words of God's book, since they have been written in the ashes of the mar-

tyrs. The Law cannot better endure in the tables of stone, than the Gospel in that sacred dust.

If the womb of Mary deserved a blessing from all generations that bore the Infant from everlasting, if the arms of Simeon deserved a church anthem every evensong that enclasped Him, if the tomb of Joseph was attended by Angels where His body lay, then cut down palms, and spread your garments in the way, for CHRIST has rode in triumph into that heart into which faith has entered.

Mercy without truth is a dangerous pity. Truth without mercy is not verity but severity. Truth is the orient star of the understanding, and mercy is the brightness of the will.

He that never saw the sea is as near his journey's end to pass it, as he that wades but to the ancles.

Truth is the daughter of Time, and the reverend antiquity of the Fathers must be her register.

My belief is as broad as the Apostles made the pattern.

For ceremonies, to despise our garments, our gestures, our canonical ordinances, may seem no damage to religion, but the very substance of our Christianity would be open to the wild boar of the wood to root it up if the hedge were broken. They that zealously wish abundance of happiness in the Church, would wish, I think, that canonical obedience did lie more strictly upon the clergy in the whole course of their profession. When every man follows the genius of his own disposition, licence cannot choose but bring in confusion, for though every one should do well for his own part, yet the work must be out of order.

Earth is our pilgrimage, and Heaven our country. Our SAVIOUR Himself was born, but in an inn, as if He took up His lodging for a night in the world, and were but a passenger.

He that is prepared to die but one kind of death, is not yet fit to be a martyr, and he that is prepared to live but one kind of life, is not yet fit to be a confessor for the Name of CHRIST.

As CHRIST hath but one truth, so He can have but one society, one Communion of Saints to profess it. But what if heretics and schismatics will not suffer this unity entire and unviolated? The issue is quickly cast up, the unity is greater for their departure.

The contents of the Revelations have such an abstruse and mystical sense, that the best clerks in all ages that have known most are commended for their moderation that they have said least unto it.

Let me go down to the lowest room, let my spirit aim at nothing but to be the temple of God here, that hereafter I may rest under the altar in life everlasting. They are there at rest in the outward rooms of Heaven, and stay there in expectation of more abundant glory. The words of praise which they give are a chariot drawn by the three transcendent attributes of the Divine nature. Power belongs unto the FATHER, for all things are by Him; Truth belongs unto the SON, for all the shadows of the old law are fulfilled in Him; Goodness belongs to the HOLY GHOST, for He is the sanctification that is diffused in their hearts.

The saints are so ravished with the splendour of the beatifical vision that they have no leisure to think of the passions which they endured in this life, much less can they spare a minute to cast away a thought upon their persecutors.

When you find a robustiousness in your spirit that you are set to wrestle with God, to cry out and not to give over, it is an enlightening that you shall prevail; but when you are sluggish in asking, it is an ill presage that the time of mercy is not come.

Every little scarceness threatens death, or is worse than

death to them that want the friendship of God. It is not bread or drink considered barely in itself which doth nourish the body, but the blessing of God infused into it.

To him that walks in a valley, every shrub is tall that grows upon the top of a mountain; so perhaps our pleasures seem aloft to us, and not to lie so low as the bottom of a well, because we ourselves do walk in the shadow of death, and in the valley of corruption.

Every act of divine worship well placed raiseth up our melody unto God in a higher note, the noise of every idle superstition drowns the music.

For public confederacy of many persons in one order, it is as lawful, being well managed, as it is full of exceptions before the institution. Why may there not be holy combinations to praise the LORD, as there are orders for chivalry and honour?

The four just conditions of a vow are,—1. That it be a thing indifferent but reducible to the fulfilling of the law. 2. That it be possible in the sphere of our own ability. 3. That it be just and lawful. 4. That it be full of weight, and moment to draw us to the fear of the LORD.

There are two things which you may choose to untie the knot of a vow,—1. The peremptory rejecting of a bad vow, (and that is lawful); and 2. The changing thereof unto some other vow (and that a more expedient) that God may have some service done unto Him by way of a vow.

Fasting humbleth, prayer is powerful, honest communication apparelleth the mind with good thoughts, watching tameth the flesh.

That fast is frustrate of the due end which brings such infirmity upon the body that it is unfit for prayer; it must be proportioned that it may not stiffen our devotion, but make it more limber for prayer and piety. The Church therefore hath always provided so to circumscribe the

strictest fast, that no man should put his life to hazard, nor his health to prejudice.

What a misery it is to challenge unto anything wherein men's labours or passions have an interest, that it is absolute and inculpable, for though it be never so much depraved, it shall never be mended.

When the hour shall come to glorify the Gospel, such works shall be brought to pass which are adapted for that end, perhaps less, perhaps greater than in former ages.

Be not overtaken with scruples and suspicions, what operation the offices of the Church have, when such as are very scandalous dispense them. An iron seal can imprint a stamp as well as one of gold. The seed may come up and do well, though the hand were leprous that sowed it. Be comforted, the High Priest Jesus is present, not for the workman's sake, but for the work at those ordinances which Himself hath constituted.

He that allows a mortal man an absolute sway over his understanding, to stoop to anything he bids him do without examination of the facts, puts him into that privilege which is due to God alone.

In the first days of the Gospel the Disciples were called Brethren from their sincerity of love; Saints from the purification of baptism; Faithful from that orthodox truth which they professed and hope in CHRIST, (Col. i. 2;) all other names are but as a trail of golden beams to beautify that which contains them all—Christians, (a name given in the tenth year after the Ascension by revelation of God.)

Feel, feel the pulse of your own conscience, tell me if it do not beat disorderly? Doth it not confuse you to call to mind that this infidelity hath betrayed you to the temptation of Satan more than all his snares beside? that desperate courage which you assume to yourselves upon some hope of impunity, is it not the spur to all transgressions? God is gentle and of long suffering, His menaces are ter-

rible, but His dearly beloved SON, and our only SAVIOUR is merciful, His loving-kindness is soon entreated. This is a bastard faith of our own to subvert the true faith which is begotten by the Spirit, a diabolical infusion that God doth menace out of policy that which He never meant to make us obsequious by the shadow of His scourge.

If all the maledictions against impenitents were not indubitably to be expected, Christianity were but faint-hearted superstition; religion nothing but panic fear; faith not the evidence of things to come, but a devised fable; and the sacred Scriptures in all penalties and threatenings, a vizard of mockery. But as sin brought punishment upon us, so let the certain expectation of it bring us out of sin. What God hath threatened will not be declined by our contrary opinion. Though CHRIST shed His blood to save a sinner, God will not lie to save a sinner.

All our protestations and promises of amendment of any fault that are retrograde, cease, and become nothing, will be the most terrible witness against us in the Day of judgment.

A little warning time at the latest of all may be worth much time. (Deut. xxxii. 50.)

If God made epitaphs, the stones of the Church should not be guilty of such flattery as they are.

A small trespass is taken more unkindly at their hands where grace abounds, than a great profanation from the heathen. As waters are still and shallow near the spring head, but run with the swifter current as they are farther off; so the indignation of Divine justice which begins calmly in the Church which is near to God, will increase more violently among the outcasts of Satan among whom at last it will end.

Instead of our prayers early and late as a morning and evening sacrifice, dissolute men and women think a short "good night" will serve the turn as they go to bed.

God will be honoured either in our conversion or in our confusion, as His mercy is glorified in deliverance, so His justice will be exalted in punishment.

The larger proportion of afflictions usually falls upon them that can more patiently suffer them.

God's grace leads a penitent man along by the hand in the narrow way of righteousness, but if he begin to think that he can go along without a supporter, when he thinks he hath one foot in heaven, he shall be thrown down to hell.

It is too vulgar that every little cross will make us fall into a bitter expostulation.

Every notable punishment that a sinner incurs in the eyes of all the world, it is a pillar of salt unto the wise to make them cautious.

No man would be an unrepentant sinner to-day but that he hopes for to-morrow. No man can be so desperate to sin so fast but that he thinks his age runs away but slowly. The Devil knows there is no way to advance his kingdom but to set a false glass before us that we have long to live.

Against death we cannot fortify ourselves, against the suddenness of death we may.

The peremptory denunciation upon pain of death not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, was a pure edict of authority, to let the best of all bodily creatures know to what service and homage they were born.

He that sees the finger of authority held up, sees reason enough to obey.

A single exception is the smallest exception that can be made, and let them feel the smart that cannot conform themselves to those things which are of such easy observation. Adam and Eve stumbled where there was nothing to make them fall, that is, they violated a law which was

neither burdensome in strictness, nor in multitude of circumstances. The negative commands of the law are more obvious to us, more ready in our power to obey them than the affirmative.

We dream of difficulties, we cry out against incurable temptations, when there is no such matter. I know there are royal laws in Scripture fit for heroic virtue,—to bless them that persecute you, to pull down every high imagination, to quench all the sparks of concupiscence, to lay down our life for CHRIST's sake. God doth justly weigh both the dureness and the weight of these commands, and our infirmity to fulfil them. He sees us strive for mastery in those combats, and admires the fortitude of His Saints, but in other things it is as strange how quickly our faintness and easiness is subdued. (Exodus xiii. 19.)

A good example is the fairest transcript of God's will tinted in capital letters, so that he that runs may read. This is the true celebration of the holy days of the best of God's children to tread their footsteps as they have gone before us unto everlasting life.

Faith is the eye of all religion.

The wealth of this city is not so great but the indigency and distress of the poor is as great. The poor are not superfluous helps of the State, they are not such as can be wanted and spared. The honourable person stands as much in need of the drudgery of the labouring man, as the labouring man stands in need of the reward of the rich. As for similitude,—the elm tree is green at the top with the beauty of her own boughs and leaves, but it is green at the bottom by the ivy that clasps and leans upon it. I give the top and chief abundance in this similitude to your own abundance, but then there is beauty in it indeed when it is a shadow to refresh the low shrubs beneath; and the blue coat wherewith you clothe the fatherless is more precious in God's sight than your own scarlet. Your halls for several companies set out with all magnificence and costs are not such stately buildings in God's eyes as

are your Hospitals, Bethlems, and such pious houses for the crazy and diseased.

The King of Kings sits upon a throne that is circled about with a rainbow. A rainbow was His first covenant which He made to spare the world, and reason good that His throne should be compassed about with mercy.

The glory of the Gospel is like God's rainbow in the clouds, not only a beautiful, but a merciful token; a bow with the string towards the earth, so that it is not prepared to shoot arrows against us.

Reverence at the Name of Jesus is more neglected in London Churches than elsewhere in the country.

Conventicles are the obstructions of unity, and the decay of allegiance and loyalty.

God is the conservor of the little remainder, the multiplier of the total seminary; give thanks for the remainder preserved, bespeak their increase for the time to come.

If foreign wits do not mistake us English, they defame us sharply that we want public spirits, and are commonly careless of the common good.

Let our charity infer that God makes the bed of their sickness be long and tedious that had need of large repentance, and takes them away suddenly that are best prepared.

What have they to do with prayer that have no fellowship with holy practice? To come before God with a lapful of sins and a mouthful of prayers is a motley sacrifice.

When your spirit is heavy and cast down with despair, prayer will make it rebound from earth to heaven. That may be soon done if we have a mind to it. It is as easy to say Our FATHER Which art in heaven, as it is to see heaven which is always in our sight. If your place and calling take up much of your time, let your prayers be compendious, well filled with matter, a holy breathing.

Speak home and be strong in sense. But beware of high looks and high words, beware of stiff joints. Put yourself back in great distance from the LORD that you may the better behold Him in His excellent greatness; keep set and appointed times for that purpose, for to pray only when you are at leisure, is to give God the worst of the day, your spare and idle time.

Every man can sooner sin than tell what it is. When we talk of it, then it grows upon us; when we forget it, it increaseth more; when we hate it, then we sin because we do not hate it as we ought. Since its essence is confederate with death and punishment. Sin is not always the moving cause of God's chastisements, but sometimes the trial of an heroic faith, so it was in Job; sometimes the confirmation of grace, so it was in S. Paul.

Woe unto the world because of scandals. Mark how many ages, how much ground our SAVIOUR compasseth in, one age is but an hourglass of time, these will lie in our memory for ever. Many offences had never been committed, or else brought forth by an evil generation long after, unless an evil author had made the way known and easy for our corrupt nature, therefore these (the Shilonite's sons, Core, Ananias, Gehazi,) had their portion suddenly, and drank the cup of God's fury unto the dregs thereof. Why is there one day of judgment, since there have been a thousand long ago both for glory and condemnation? because though corruption have seized thee in the grave, and so much of thy dust remain not as may offend a tender eye, yet thy sins may live, and he that looks upon them may conceive spots like the flocks of Jacob. I do not excuse these tender ones that turn a fore eye more carefully from the sun which would make it smart, than from an ill example that will cast a dark shadow on the soul.

It is a good meditation that the soul of that man, let it consult with itself, will never attain to a perfect peace that made another sin. I am reconciled unto God in

JESUS CHRIST. Could I wish any more? Yes, I shall ever be unresolved whether he be reconciled unto God by repentance, whom I entangled by my occasion. Unhappy are the saints of God if they rob His kingdom of any that should reign for company. Like Achan, parents of transgressions, like Achan perish not alone in their iniquity.

The rich eloquence of some lawyers, that is a golden tongue that can dash law against law, and break all as easily as a cupboard of glasses. It is grown an art among pleaders to be a good accuser. He that can aggravate a crime well, is in good hope to be a thriving practiser.

Joseph of Arimathea built his tomb like a bird's nest in his garden, in remembrance that a trespass committed in a garden was the first occasion of tombs and epitaphs; and is it not usual to this day to cast up our graves after the similitude of beds in gardens?

Look upon God's threatenings as upon some curious picture, which in thy fancy seems to look upon thee only. The fear of common calamity is most often forgot in every man's private security.

Fortune never stood long upon a pinnacle.

Our vices are sure to fall down upon the head of such only as are dearest to us.

CHRIST was born in the night. His agony in the garden took hold on Him by night, when the world was in a deep sleep, His own disciples drowsy, and could not watch with Him one hour. He suffered when the sun was darkened. He arose out of the sepulchre before any body was stirring in the morning. Even to show that we were dumb and still passive in all the work of our redemption.

The luxury and voluptuousness of our feasts in many families do reach to midnight, and then we think we have kept Christmas when we sit down to eat and drink, and rise up to play.

Divinity is nothing else but a tractate of admiration.

We shall meet all together, all in the same livery, clothed with bodies of youth according to the measure of our SAVIOUR's age.

Our SAVIOUR was born when a still peace was over all the world, on Whitsunday He poured out His HOLY SPIRIT upon them that were of one accord and of one heart. The one was the first act upon earth, the other is His last; then He was clothed with our flesh, now we are invested with His Spirit.

God foresees iniquity in us because we will be evil; but we are not made evil because He foresees it.

Providence is the ordaining of all things to a good, but predestination is the ordaining of God's chosen portion to a blessed end.

Impious men may execute that which God is content should come to pass, and yet they do nothing less than obey God.

All things that were, that are, that shall be, are present to God at one instant; those successions of time past, present, and to come, which are differences to us, are none at all to God. His knowledge which is eternal, reacheth with one simple act even to the producing of effects in time without all variation.

God will at last wind up all those things that appear most disproportionable to His honour, to the high advancement of His glory.

One part of our body being tainted with the poison of sin, traduceth its corruption to another.

By His charity CHRIST condemned covetousness, by His charitable prayers for His enemies, implacable revenge, by the price for which the Holy One was bought and sold, sacrilege, by His crown of thorns, ambition, by the humility of His cross, pride, by His gall and

vinegar, luxury, by His patience, impatience, by His infinite love, envy.

If antiquity and clear evidence do both concur, which lights but seldom, what mean and contemptible beginnings shall you find of those nations and republics upon whose glory the heavens have shined with the most propitious influence. Upon what slight and almost ridiculous occasions titles of brave estimation did grow into credit, it holds in them all that Almighty God, willing to advance religious honour above secular, hath blurred the secular honour with one of these three diminutions,—either it has no glorious beginning, for it is new; or it cannot show it, for it is obscure; or it dare not show it, for it is coarse and mean.

Superfluity of hearing is a cloak of dissimulation, and hath bred a consumption of practising. It is a humour to grow too familiar with that which is told too often; a decent distance and intermission would breed more reverence and attention.

Every religious exercise should be too long by a preface.

There is a satiety of all things, and to exceed a just proportion even in that which is good, it is blameful and vicious; too much justice is rigour, too much temperance is diseased, too much love is troublesome, but to give God the glory, it is a duty unto which we are bound with an infinite devotion, if it were possible, even as He is infinite, so that we cannot fill up the measure, much less are we able to exceed it.

He that despiseth the gifts of God in his fellow-servants, be assured he is not the man that gives God the glory.

Nothing was so scorched in hell as the proud tongue of Dives.

Glory is the fire that kindles virtue when it provokes virtue to good achievements, but when glory begets nothing but the desire of glory, it is but childish popularity.

All gluttony is the corruption of true glory, but to flatter a man in his vices is a sacrilege against virtue.

When we come to CHRIST's Holy Supper, unless we carry up our heart unto Him by strong devotion, and presume that we see that very Body which was crucified for us before our eyes, we pollute the Sacrament for want of faith.

Truth is least suspected when it is not varnished over with policy.

Repentance is the resurrection of the soul from the death of sin.

True love esteems it sweet to suffer for His sake to Whose memory their affection is constantly devoted.

In the sanctification of the LORD's Day we are tied only to such rest as shall adorn and beautify our worship of God upon that day.

Devotion without superstition is the most heavenly thing in the world.

The power of God is His will.

Baptism is the Sacrament of most necessity, and the LORD's Supper is the Sacrament of perfection.

Resurrection is the edge of valour and fortitude, there can be no courage without it. In assurance of it there is no sting, there is no terror in our dissolution.

It is a just reward of wicked instruments that they are always suspected, always secretly hated by those that practise with them.

Our life is full of false sorrows and false joys, we laugh when we have no cause to be merry, and we weep when we have no cause to be sad.

Curious music upon costly instruments is an admirable alarm for devotion in cathedral and collegiate places,

where such as are wise and skilful do come together to enjoy it.

What profit is it to keep holy day with men, if we should be excluded from keeping holy day with angels for evermore?

When the soul extends its desires to things that are worse than its own substance, (so is every thing that we behold with our bodily eye,) it must needs return home less unto itself, and be justly despised of God Whom we talk to in our prayers as if we were persuaded He was in heaven, and yet so busy we are in action beneath as if we fought our God in earth. In a word, by penetrating so far into these corruptible objects, you have excommunicated your soul from the Church of Saints, for that Jerusalem is above.

It is not good for a child to be too much scared by preceptors and governors, such nipping weather is an enemy to a flourishing spring.

God's Church hath increased more by the love of God than by the terror which He sent in the old time; but when persecutions were rife, it increased more by the terrors of man than by their love.

They that run far into the thought to prosper in the increment of the earth, cannot decline from being servants to the times, to occasions, to ignobleness, to the manners of iniquity.

Forasmuch as the Church is our mother, we must carry that venerable duty towards her, that great heed must be had to her determinations of faith, not as if it were the rule of truth that is the prerogative of Sacred Scripture, but because it holds out the rule of truth, and the ministry thereof is the condition, subordinate under God, to find out truth. In positive laws of rites and ceremonies men's private fancies must give way to the higher judgment of the Church, which is in authority a mother over them. And do not say you are an obedient child, since you do

that which your Heavenly FATHER requires, why not also what your spiritual mother requires? since one hath nothing repugnant to the other. The uniform practice and general judgment of all God's servants that went before us is a certain and undoubted explication of all these points contained in Scripture that concern our salvation.

Nature, as it is good and perfect, taught us to love ourselves, fond and corrupt nature taught us to love ourselves too much; it is self-love to our own person that persuades us other men sin and we pay the ransom.

Every affliction that gainsays the pleasure and content of nature is first a punishment, then it is a medicine or salve to cure you as you use it. Why should I fear to pay the price of those sins which are not mine? poor subjects have lost their lives in the king's iniquities, the children for the fathers', the family with the master. At this time God called them all to die, who were bound for their own sins to die at any time. As the greatest unity of the Triumphant Church above doth consist in the glory which they enjoy together in the sight of God, so our unity of the militant Church below is to suffer and die together. It is that which must combine the souls of Christians.

He that is exquisite in describing the ruin of any man, his invention smells of tyranny.'

If aspiring after promotion brought no other mischief but this one to the soul, it were enough to condemn it, that it carries a man into a strange land, quite into another region far distant from humility, and from godly sorrow and repentance.

A stomach that is invincible to the Divine wrath, is a symptom of madness and not of courage.

The constitution of Lent began not until such time as the perpetual sobriety of the primitive Christians began to be unimitated.

They that did first distribute apt times and seasons of the Church for the service of God, contrived forty days together in Lent for religious service and humiliation, a long time of perseverance that we might be perfect in the lesson.

The devout man fasts to give his soul the true bias of penance and mourning, and to testify before heaven and earth that nothing shall comfort him but the mercy of God Whom he hath offended.

Mourning of the heart is not a punishment but a gift of God to be endured with godly sorrow, and all His gifts put together make a treasure of felicity.

On Church holidays you give yourselves over to cessation from work, it may be to sports, and games, and interludes, the fields shall be all day full of loose persons, and the house of the LORD empty. Bear this in mind, that the rubric days in the almanac do prefigure that celestial condition wherein being mixed with angels, we shall sing Halleluias to the Lamb for evermore, having no worldly toil or vexation to distract us.

Observe, ye that would keep a good Christmas, the glory of God is the best celebration of His Son's nativity; and all your pastimes and mirth, which I disallow not, but rather commend in moderate use, must so be managed without riot, surfeiting, excessive gaming, pride, and vain pomp, in harmlessness, in sobriety, as if the glory of the LORD were round about us.

The stable wherein CHRIST was born was so beautified for the time with the light of Heaven which did shine in the place, that a palace of beaten gold could not seem to be half so rich and precious.

A multitude flocked after CHRIST in the wilderness, verily it is to eat of the loaves and fishes, not for the doctrine's sake; a multitude followed Him into the high priest's hall, and the whole rabble cried out, "Let Him

be crucified." A body of soldiers watched His sepulchre, and belied His resurrection; a multitude was in Bethlehem at His nativity, and there was no room for Him in the inn.

The Angel appeared unto the shepherds in the same parcel of ground where Jacob slept, and in his dream saw Angels ascending and descending upon the ladder. There stood the first altar that was ever called the Church of God.

Mark the equity and indifference of the Son of God both to Jew and to barbarian. He was conceived among the Gentiles at Nazareth, brought forth into the world among the Jews at Bethlehem, lived at Galilee of the nations, but died at Jerusalem.

Upon the pleasant fruitfulness of the fields the happy news are showered down as if the dawning of this bright day should change all the earth into another paradise.

They that have gone about to cast up the number think that as many have lost their lives for the profession of righteousness in the time of the Gospel, as there were beasts in the old law slain for sacrifice before the altar.

CHRIST was annunciated by the Angel both at the increase of the year, and at the increase of the day.

The saints in this world behold the secrets of the Divine Nature as if it were in the imagination of a dream. We must believe without appoising the articles of our faith to the balance of reason, and then though we see darkly in a glass, we are children of the day, but if we will scan the secrets of God by the scruples of human wisdom, then is our day turned into night.

Upon His very cross whereon He hanged, He stood like a Judge between the nocent and the innocent.

A man never fares worse than when he is his own carver. No greater infelicity can betide us than when we have our own wishes.

It is a pitiful and indeed a dishonourable praise to point out a man and say he is religious, devout, or conscionable as the world goes.

Let none walk and strut it in the body of the church while others are at their prayers in the quire, they are more bold and familiar with God than welcome.

Good works have no intrinsecal worth or value to claim eternal life, but through the gracious promise of God they are ordained unto it. Faith is an ambulatory thing, it hath no rest till it see God, and walks from one degree to another, from righteousness to righteousness, and never stands still but in the clear vision of the beatific essence, it walks no more, but stands before the face of the Lord for ever.

The most horrible sins that are do usually come to pass through sullen melancholy. Shall every elegancy, mirth, and pleasurable recreation in the world be checked for wanton and abominable? Such censorious four-looking Pharisees of all the rest of the Jews did least please our SAVIOUR. A good Christian may walk before God with a cheerful merry heart. Happy are they that can suffer tribulations for God's Name without repining, and no less happy are they that drink of the brook in the way of comforts and pleasures without surfeiting.

The very comfort of heaven was dreadful and unpleasant to men in the Old Testament, and our nature is still corrupted, the vessel is still unclean that receives these blessings, and therefore we are afraid of the great mercies of the LORD as well as of the great punishments. Ever since the SON of God vouchsafed to take flesh in the womb of Mary, it is not a sign of death to see any part of God's glory, but a good ominous passage of everlasting life.

No man is further from heaven because he doth heartily confess himself a miserable sinner that deserves the condemnation of hell fire.

God made His Son to be sin for us, not a sinner, but a sacrifice for sin; so He was made not accursed but a curse, a sacrifice of malediction for our sakes.

We should be afraid, not with an immoderate fear, not with a desperate damning fear, which dogs a fullen unrepentant sinner up and down, but there is a pious reverential fear which well becomes the saints. There can be no true worship of God without a solicitous and most anxious care not to displease His Majesty. This is it to whose perfection we must aspire to live justly and soberly though there were no hell at all, but purely out of the principle of love and zeal to the honour of our Heavenly FATHER. What a becoming thing it is unto religion to approach to divine prayers, especially to the Table of the LORD with an awful duty, as if we were afraid to speak to God, or to touch the crumbs of His heavenly banquet.

Faith is the parent both of a cloudy fear, and a smiling hope. If there be not a mixture of fear with our love it falleth asleep, it waxeth secure, and loseth her beloved. If the comfort of our joy be not allayed with some fear, it is madness and presumption; if our fear be not intermixed with the comfort of some joy, it is fullness and desperation.

A filial fear which loves God for His own goodness, is like a bright day which hath not a cloud to disfigure it; a servile fear that dreads God because it dreads the wrath to come, is like a day that is overcast with clouds, but it is clearer than the fairest moonshine night.

CHRIST had all passions and human infirmities under subjection, so that He could be cast into no consternation but when His own will did consent and accord unto it, yet He chose a fit time to cast Himself into a great agony of fear when He sweat drops of blood in the garden, lest we should think it a sin at all times to be afraid upon just occasions.

The mark which God set upon Cain was a continual trembling at the sight of man and beast.

For fear of some loss or harm it approacheth unto God, and that is a religious fear, or else for fear of some harm it forgets God and departeth from Him, and that is a criminous and sinful fear. The devil feels some horror that gnaws and torments him, but he feels not the blessing of that fear which should discipline him from sin and amend him. Saints in their fear fell towards God and towards the throne of His footstool, but the ungracious servants of the high priest went backward and fell to the ground.

There are mountebanks in divinity that will promise many sorts of remedies to a sin-sick soul where there is none at all.

Let vices be threatened, but let the hope that accompanies true repentance go together; let judgment be put home to the obdurate conscience, but let mercy be an advocate for the broken in heart; let the strictness of the law and the curse thereof fetch a tear from our eyes, but let the ransom of sin be set before us, and that CHRIST will wipe all tears from our eyes.

Ministering spirits, when the Eternal SON commands, could not abhor the shapes of men, they appeared every way in the same form and fashion wherein we walk upon earth. Yet thus we distinguish them from ourselves; their bodies were created, their substance made extraordinarily not according to nature, but by the finger of God; their bodies which they assumed had not vivification by the breath of life, but only served them for motion and representation; they had ears, eyes, and other sensible organs, not to exercise these senses, but for an ornament and complement's sake, lest their bodies should seem monstrous and formidable to the beholders. Their bodies, after they had appeared to discharge their embassy, vanished into elements never to return again into that composition. There are prophetic visions in Holy Writ when the fancy of certain prophets was persuaded it saw

that which it did not see. (Ezek. i. ; Dan. viii.) The apparition of angels to the shepherds and at Sodom was not imaginary but substantial.

Our first disobedience was occasioned by a tree, our redemption was purchased upon the tree of the Cross. We were wounded by the appetite of Eve, we were healed by the womb of Mary. An evil spirit tempted us to our loss, and a good spirit was zealous to be an instrument of our restitution.

Angels make one congregation with us. Where then is your reverence, your bodily humiliation when you come to God's house? Do all things with decency and well becoming devotion, for the angels are our invisible associates, and are by to witness.

All creatures had some participation and interest in the Incarnation. Man did share in Him in his own sex and person, women in the womb that bare Him; poor men in the shepherds, great ones in the sages of the east, the beasts by the stable wherein He was born, the earth in the gold that was offered, the trees in the myrrh and frankincense, the heavens in the star that blazed, and angels were in His train.

CHRIST was manifested to the shepherds by an angel, to the wise men by a star, to Simeon and Anna by the HOLY GHOST. Simeon and Anna waited and expected every day the salvation of Israel, and therefore the HOLY GHOST told them secretly in their hearts as soon as the Babe was brought into the temple; the shepherds were Jews, and the law was delivered by the ministration of angels; the magi were astronomers, and better knew the course of the stars; and the book of the creature was fit to teach the Gentiles.

Some are bold to say that this white glorious cloud which dazzled the shepherds, afterwards being compacted into one body, it made that blazing star which went before the wise men from the east unto Bethlehem.

The law was no other than a candle under a bushel, but the Gospel is a light as great as the sun in the firmament, a candle upon a hill, and the Catholic Church over all the world is the candlestick to hold it.

At the execution of many martyrs unspeakable gladness was revealed unto them from above in their fiery trial, the fiery flame which consumed them was like the light and shining of an angel to solace them.

The LORD can detect that idolatry which we keep close in our hearts, His knowledge shineth in the darkness of our hearts as if it were light. Are you in your wits that think iniquity is far from judgment because it is farther from appearance? The earth should be more innocently walked on to and fro because CHRIST hath trod upon it; our bodies kept clean in chastity, because He hath assumed our nature and blessed it. Wicked men are groping to find out mischief though God have hid it out of the way. The Saints and Angels are in a state of light, wherein they know as they are known perfectly, partaking of the beatifical vision. Between these two there is a middle condition of godly men who see into the way of righteousness though it be darkly as in a glass, but they that dress them by a glass, can discern how to mend anything that misbecomes them.

In the imagination of our faith CHRIST seems to be offered up again so often as we remember His death and passion in the Sacrament.

In the beginning was the Word, and no word can utter how It was made flesh in time. The eternal Creator was made Man of the substance of a woman, and yet His hands did make and fashion the substance of His mother. The Word by which the world was made became an Infant in the cradle and could not speak. He that bears up the pillars of the earth was borne in the arms of Joseph and carried into Egypt. The Infinite Majesty that hath made the bounds of heaven and earth, being Himself

without bounds or circumscription, was bound with swaddling cloths and laid in a manger.

Beauty is that which attracts affections to it, so the Apostles are said to be beautiful because they drew the world unto them.

In Mount Tabor CHRIST in visible splendour, the FATHER in the Voice, the HOLY GHOST in the bright cloud did manifest themselves.

While we pray, not the fashion of our countenance, but the fashion of our heart shall be altered.

It was a greater miracle to restrain the apparition of His glory at any time, than to have it always dwell upon His face; for blessed souls which enjoy God always have a virtue of clarity in them, which redounds of its own accord into the body.

The transfiguration was intended to make up our complement of joy touching the resurrection of the body, and to sink it deeper in our hearts, that this brightsome alteration did not consume the spirit but the body; His raiment was white and glistening, which is no more than the shroud of the body. In this miracle appeared that God can add a celestial and beauteous form unto a body so that the sun in all his brightness shall not come near it. It was not such a brightness as the soul shall communicate to the body when it is reunited in a joyful resurrection, but was created at this time by the Divine power to foretell and shadow what would come to pass with much increase in the kingdom of God, this was but the landscape or pattern of the true happiness which shall be therein; neither was S. Stephen's irradiation any more than a preparative of the resurrection.

All the light which is in this world is but like a glow-worm to the day in respect of that mirror of marvellous light in the heavenly Jerusalem, where millions of millions of saints shall be gathered together, and every saint shall

shine more sweetly and majestically than the whole globe of the sun. What a ravishing object will this be !

The transfiguration in the SAVIOUR's countenance did portend light of grace in this world, light of glory in the next, and light of mercy and comfort in respect unto them both.

As the face of CHRIST did bear the greatest share of ignominy at His Passion, so the honour of His transfiguration did light upon it, rather because God's reward shall make amends in every kind for the despite of Satan.

Two did concur to the beauty of His raiment, a whiteness mixed with no shadow, a light bedimmed with no darkness.

Enoch lived a married life, Elias was a virgin, to show that continency in marriage and virginity shall both be glorified in the great day of the resurrection.

Exod. xxxiii. 23, meaning that the eye of man could not see His Divinity, but he should have the honour to see CHRIST incarnate, the out parts or the veil of the God-head.

Elias came down from whence he was ascended before, and Moses rose up from whence he was descended before. CHRIST Jesus was the first of them that rose from the dead, Whose glorified body entered into the highest places. By Moses are represented all those saints whose bodies from the beginning of the world to the end lie buried in the dust. By Elias are understood all that shall be found at CHRIST's second coming living upon the earth, and both shall be summoned to appear before Him.

We have but one truth, our hearts and affections must be all of one mind ; there is but one faith, one CHRIST, one Baptism, there must be one Church and one tabernacle. Emulation and schism comes of it to make more tabernacles than one.

*God gave us a law by Moses but the spark which HE
had kindled in nature was almost put out, and it
was big that inly stone which was worn out in flesh*
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Distinction of names in churches and oratories is for variety's sake, and to take away confusion, sometimes by one saint, sometimes by all the saints, sometimes known only by the name of the founder, sometimes some famous work denominates them, as the resurrection or wisdom. We erect tombs of remembrance as unto men whose spirits live with God for ever.

S. Peter discerned those to be Moses and Elias whom he had never seen before, by that gift of grace whereby every saint shall know all the society of saints by name after the resurrection.

There is nothing so devoid of harm which will not affrighten the stoutest stomach if God direct it for fear, a still voice, a noise, the figure of a man's hand, a whip of small cords.

A shady cloud opposed itself before the Apostles' eyes because we are not fit nor worthy to behold pure happiness in these days of vanity.

The devil himself doth not envy us knowledge, but he does envy us obedience.

When God doth cover any thing with a miraculous shadow, it promiseth that the Divine Providence is round about it.

We have two regenerations or new births, a spiritual and eternal. The spiritual regeneration which begets us again to life when by nature we were dead in sin, is baptism; the eternal regeneration is the resurrection of the body.

When Apostles saw their Master and the two Prophets enter into the clouds, and themselves left apart, they were afraid they should be quite separated from CHRIST and those glorified Saints.

The ignorant doth not listen when God calls; the wilful and perverse will not hear what is taught, if it rub

up his conscience and offend him; the distracted man cannot listen when God calls.

Not the bare hearing, but the fruit which comes by hearing, is acceptable to Him Who gives the reward.

He that maketh his own brain the model of his religion, shall have little thanks for his forwardness.

Heaven is so large and spacious, that it is fit to admit divers quarterings and mansions in it; the archangel's throne, the angel's palace, the blessed seats of the faithful since CHRIST's ascension, the refrigerium of the faithful before His ascension, a tabernacle allotted for Enoch and Elias. There are divers stories of glory built one above another, there are outward courts of glory, and inward chambers.

As the king's coin is stamped on both sides, so the Gospel, like a piece of current metal, is engraved on one side with the ancient testimony of the Law, on the other side with the strong predictions of the Prophets.

The devil himself was ashamed of upstarts when they came to be broachers of their own fancies.

This is the peevishness of our human folly to yearn for tidings from the dead, as if a spirit departed could declare anything more evidently than the Book of God which is the sure oracle of life. The mind is composed with quietness to hear the living. The apparitions of dead men, beside the suspicion of delusion, would fill us with ghastly horror, and it were impossible we should be fit scholars to learn if such strong perturbations of fear should be upon us. For the spirits of damnation there is no re-passage for them, and it makes more to strengthen our belief that never any did return from hell to tell us their woeful tale, than if any should return. It is among the severe pains of damnation that there is no indulgence for the smallest respite to come out of it.

It is a mournful sight to see any place excel the Church in pre-eminence and magnificence, not as if the LORD did

*We shall meet together all in the same livery,
clothed with bodies of youth according to the measure
of our various age. Appendix (Lph. iv.)* 283

favour us for fair walls and roofs without a fair inside, but it signifies the Almightyness of God when we honour Him with the best and chiefest of all outward things, and it makes our zeal shine before men, that we love our Heavenly FATHER better than all the wealth of the earth.

As some men have their customs not to give, so undoubtedly God hath His custom not to reward.

A dropping imaginary thing like a dew cloud is all the glory upon earth.

When controversies about some difficile points of divinity have rather begot rage in the minds of men than obedience and devotion, it hath been the religious care of godly magistrates in all ages to interdict those disputes on all sides, that peace might ensue, and dissensions by little and little be forgotten. A confession of truth out of time and season doth rather hurt than edify.

Obedience is a great virtue even in the smallest things, and they that are subject to obey must not examine with what little prejudice a small command may be broken, but rather consider with what great ease it may be kept.

The reed was set in the hand of CHRIST to pen the sacrilege of His enemies.

Mercy and clemency are stronger than lions to support the crown of the king.

Herod clothed our SAVIOUR in a white shining robe, Pilate made it purple, to express that His soul was white with innocency, and His body dyed purple with passion; as Solomon spoke mystically of CHRIST, He was the white lily of the valley in His sanctified life, the red rose of Sharon in His bloody sufferings. The testimony of His love was enamelled or engraven in every part of His body.

Though He was received with palm branches and shoutings, yet He wept upon Jerusalem to consider their sins; at the transfiguration He is all glorious and rejoiceth for our sakes to hear the commemoration of His own sorrows.

*No face is well seen in a troubled water, and no
mystery of the Faith can sink in deep, when the mind
is fearful.* 184

Appendix.

All enemies were come about our SAVIOUR on the Cross, and had the foil, only death hovered aloof and durst not approach, therefore when all things were accomplished, CHRIST nodded with His head and called death unto Him.

The Scripture varies the name of death in good words, a decease out of a country of captivity, a tranquil rest, a sound sleep, sometimes the title of an exaltation.

The days of this life are called thousands of days, the life of glory is called one day; these are called thousands for their mutability, that is called one for the unchangeable eternity.

I have read of Lazarus and some others raised to life, that their soul had seen a little of the happiness of the life to come, and being brought again into the body, they were never seen to laugh or smile, either because they knew better than others that there was no true joy upon earth, or because they were melancholy to have their happiness interrupted.

A righteous man's death is like the cherubim standing before the garden of Eden, that with one blow lets him into Paradise.

For S. John to live to such an extreme old age was his martyrdom.

Danger is the best sentinel in the world to make us watch our enemies. Fear is the best warning-bell to call us often to prayer. Tribulation is the best orator to persuade us to humility.

The greatest of all things is a heart that despiseth all the greatest things which are in the world beneath.

It was no discreet choice in S. Peter to desire to sit down as it were in the half way under a golden canopy, and not to run out unto the end where the reward was to be received.



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